GOD'S UNRULY FRIENDS

Dervish Groups in the Islamic Middle Period 1200–1550

AHMET T. KARAMUSTAFA

God's Unruly Friends

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Acknowledgments

I first met the deviant dervishes in earnest when I read Vāḥidī's *Menāḳıb-ı Ḫvoca-i Cihān ve Netīce-i Cān* in 1983. During the following three years, I tried to trace the history of these enigmatic figures and incorporated the initial results of my research into my doctoral dissertation in the form of one long chapter. While I continued to gather information on the dervishes after this point, it was only in the summer of 1991 that I returned to them with renewed interest. The present work is largely the outcome of my efforts during the past two years to understand and explain dervish piety.

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Usage

Arabic and Persian titles, technical terms, and personal names have been transliterated according to the Library of Congress transliteration systems for these languages, while the transliteration of names and terms in Ottoman Turkish follows, with some deviations, the system proposed by Eleazar Birnbaum, "The Transliteration of Ottoman Turkish for Library and General Purposes: Ottoman Turkish Transliteration Scheme," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 87 (1967): 122–56. The choice of transliteration system was guided by context (thus, *tekbīr* rather than *takbīr* in transliterating from Ottoman Turkish), though the transliteration of certain often-used words (Qalandar, *zāwiyah, ḥadīth*) has been rendered uniform throughout the manuscript in order not to confuse the reader.

Dates are given in both the Islamic lunar and Common Era years, separated by a slash. I have used the conversion tables supplied by F. R. Unat, *Hicrī Tarihleri Milādī Tarihe Çevirme Kılavuzu* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1984). Islamic solar dates, primarily used in Persian publications, are represented by the addition of the letters "sh" (for *shamsī*) to the date.

Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

In the mid-sixth/twelfth century, a peculiar-looking ascetic visited the palace of the Ghaznavid ruler Mu'izz al-Dawlah Khusraw Shāh (r. 547–55/1152–60) in Ghazna in eastern Afghanistan to ask for alms. He had bare feet and was dressed in a black goat's skin. On his head he wore a cap of the same material, ornamented with horns. In his hand he carried a club adorned with rings, pierced ankle-bones, and small round bells. Khusraw Shāh responded favorably to the ascetic's request and received his blessings.[1]

More than a century and a half later, ascetics of very similar appearance are recorded to have gathered around Baraḳ Baba (d. 707/1307–8) in Asia Minor and Iran. Baraḳ Baba arrived in Syria in the year 706/1306 at the head of a group of about one hundred dervishes, naked except for a red cloth wrapped around his waist. He wore a reddish turban on his head with a buffalo horn attached on either side. His hair and his moustache were long, while his beard was clean-shaven. He carried with him a long pipe or horn (*nafīr*), as well as a dervish bowl. He did not accumulate any wealth. His disciples were of similar appearance, carrying long clubs, tambourines and drums, bells, and painted ankle-bones, with molar teeth attached to strings suspended from their necks. Wherever they went, the disciples played and Baraḳ Baba danced like a bear and sang like a monkey. It is reported that Baraḳ Baba had control over wild animals, as he demonstrated by scaring a ferocious tiger and riding a wild ostrich on two different occasions. Apparently, he exercised similar control over his disciples, whom he forced to perform the prescribed reli-

gious practices on pain of forty blows of the bastinado. Nonetheless, his dervishes were renowned for their antinomian ways, which included failure to observe the ritual fast and consumption of legally objectionable foods and drugs. The Mamlūk sources also accuse them of belief in metempsychosis and denial of the existence of the hereafter, while to Barak himself is imputed an excessive love of ʿAlī, which he supposedly viewed as the sole religious obligation.[2]

A century after Barak Baba's visit to Syria, on 25 May 1404, the Spanish traveler Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo passed through a place called Delilarkent ("city of madmen," present-day Delibaba) in the vicinity of Erzurum in eastern Anatolia. He reported that the whole village was inhabited by dervishes:

> These Dervishes shave their beards and their heads and go almost naked. They pass through the street, whether in the cold or in the heat, eating as they go, and all the clothing they wear is bits of rag of the torn stuff that they can pick up. As they walk along night and day with their tambourines they chant hymns. Over the gate of their hermitage is seen a banner of black woollen tassels with a moon-shaped ornament above; below this are arranged in a row the horns of deer and goats and rams, and further it is their custom to carry about with them these horns as trophies when they walk through the streets; and all the houses of the Dervishes have these horns set over them for a sign.[3]

The lone ascetic dressed in goat's skin in Afghanistan, the tumultuous crowd of mendicant disciples around Barak Baba in Syria, and the naked dervishes of Delibaba in Asia Minor represent a kind of renunciation that emerged and spread in Islamdom during the Later Middle Period (ca. 600–900/1200–1500).[4] This new movement differed from previous versions of Islamic renunciation in significant ways. On one hand, the new renouncers elevated the ascetic principles of mendicancy, itinerancy, celibacy, and self-mortification to unprecedented heights through a radical interpretation of the doctrine of poverty. On the other hand, they welded asceticism with striking forms of social deviance in such a way as to render deviant behavior the ultimate measure of true renunciation. In their zeal to reject society and to refuse to participate in its reproduction in any fashion, the new renouncers embraced such anarchist and antinomian practices as nudity or improper clothing, shaving all bodily and facial

hair, and use of hallucinogens and intoxicants as the only real methods of renunciation. The avoidance of gainful employment, family life, and indeed all forms of social association was not sufficient. Withdrawal from society had to be accompanied by active rejection and destruction of established social custom. More than anything else, it was in their deliberate and blatant social deviance that the new renouncers differed from their previous counterparts in Islamic history.

The new renunciatory movement was not homogeneous. Its various manifestations forged the features of poverty, mendicancy, itinerancy, celibacy, self-mortification, and other forms of social deviance into distinct combinations with varying degrees of emphasis on the eremitic and cenobitic options. The solitary mendicant, the wandering group of disciples, and the partially settled dervish community of the reports presented above reflect these different manifestations of the new dervish piety. Uncompromising eremiticism based on radical poverty, usually characteristic of the initial phase of the renunciation movement, was everywhere followed by a cenobitic reaction. While mendicancy and itinerancy remained the norm, the attraction of community life dampened the anchoritic zeal inherited from the ascetic virtuosi of the previous generations. The original ascetic mandate was further attenuated when renouncers began to practice mendicancy and itinerancy on a part-time, mostly seasonal, basis. Wandering and begging in a state of extreme poverty most of the year, these renouncers returned to their hospices the rest of the year, where they enjoyed the relative comfort of settled life. Despite such diversity, however, social deviance always remained constant.

Although the new renunciatory piety was already in evidence during the sixth/twelfth century, its first clear manifestations in the form of identifiable social collectivities emerged around the turn of the seventh/thirteenth century. They took the form of two widespread movements: the Qalandarīyah, which first flourished in Syria and Egypt under the leadership of ethnically Iranian leaders, most notably Jamāl al-Dīn Sāvī (d. ca. 630/1232–33), and the Ḥaydarīyah, which took shape in Iran as a result of the activities of its eponymous founder Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar (d. ca. 618/1221–22). Both movements rapidly spread from their respective places of origin to India and to Asia Minor.

Already before the end of the seventh/thirteenth century, other

dervish groups similar to the mendicant Qalandars and Ḥaydarīs began to appear in different regions of Islamdom. The followers of Baraḳ Baba in newly conquered Asia Minor and western Iran were the earliest and most prominent representatives of this wave of locally contained religious renunciation. During the following two centuries many more groups appeared alongside the still effective Qalandars and Ḥaydarīs, notably Abdāls of Rūm, Jāmīs, Bektāşīs, and Shams-Tabrīzīs in Asia Minor and Madārīs and Jalālīs in Muslim India.

The definitive establishment of the great regional empires of the Ottomans, Ṣafavids, Üzbeks, and Mughals during the tenth/sixteenth century led to tighter organization of the deviant dervish groups. The loose social collectivity of the Later Middle Period was either transformed into a new Sufi order or assimilated into an older one. In Ottoman Asia Minor and the Balkans, the Bektāşīye emerged as a major new order that carried the legacy of the earlier Qalandars, Ḥaydarīs, and Abdāls of Rūm, while in India Qalandars infiltrated the socially respectable Sufi orders (*ṭarīqahs*), which led to the emergence of suborders like the Chishtīyah-Qalandarīyah. Similar processes must have been operative in the formation of the Khāksār in Iran, which probably came into being through a merger of different movements such as the Ḥaydarīyah and Jalālīyah. Not all of the earlier dervish groups survived into this later period; some simply disappeared altogether, as evidenced by the case of the Jāmīs in the Ottoman Empire.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

The deviant dervish groups that constituted the new renunciatory movement have received varying degrees of scholarly attention.[5] The Qalandars have been the subject of several studies, while the Ḥaydarīs, Abdāls of Rūm, and the others remain largely unexplored.[6] Even in the case of the Qalandars, however, scholars have, as a rule, restricted the scope of their research to a specific region and period and have not attempted to trace the history of the group in Islamdom as a whole.

At present, there exists no comprehensive study of new renunciation.[7] The phenomenon is not even acknowledged as a distinct phase in the historical development of Islamic modes of piety. This lack of analytical depth and focus is patently visible in the inability of

previous scholarship to produce a satisfactory explanation for the emergence and enduring appeal of deviant renunciation. Indeed, the reasons for the formation, spread, and flourishing of new movements of renunciation during the Later Middle Period have remained obscure. This is hardly surprising. Dervish piety has not normally been viewed as the manifestation of a new mode of religiosity. Instead, it has been subsumed under the larger and seemingly permanent category of "popular religion." The operative assumption here has been that there was a watertight separation in premodern Islamic history between high, normative, and official religion of the cultural elite on the one hand and low, antinomian, and popular religion of the illiterate masses on the other hand. Dervish religiosity has generally been viewed as one, and only one, feature of the sphere of popular religion. Conceived as a static mixture of ill-defined beliefs and practices, however, popular religion is immune to historical change. The illiterate common people of the premodern periods are thought to have clung tenaciously to their ancient religious lore and ritual behavior, resisting the manipulative pressures of the "literate" religious tradition. Submerged in the sea of unchanging popular religious practice, socially deviant renunciation is thus stripped of its historical specificity and rendered impervious to historical explanation.

The relegation of anarchist dervishes to the sphere of popular religion and low culture has deep historical roots. The cultural elite of medieval Islamdom consistently identified the dervishes as the riffraff of society and readily decried them as impostors and ignoramuses. Within the decade of their appearance in the Arab Middle East, the Qalandars and the Ḥaydarīs, for instance, were portrayed as shameless charlatans by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jawbarī in a book that he wrote between 619/1222 and 629/1232 to unveil the tricks perpetrated by numerous classes of beggars and swindlers of the underworld.[8] A few decades later, the eminent scholar Naṣīr-al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) did not hesitate to take an actively hostile attitude toward the dervish "rabble." In 658/1259–60, a group of Qalandars presented themselves in Ḥarrān, Syria, to the Mongol ruler Hülegü (r. 654–63/1256–65). When the ruler wanted to know who these people were, Naṣīr al Dīn's comment, "[They are] the excess of this world," prompted Hülegü to order the summary execution of all the Qalandars.[9] The puritanic Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb, who wrote a whole trea-

tise to denounce the irreligious practices of Qalandars in 683 1284–85, emphatically commended the non-Muslim Mongols fo their harsh treatment of the Qalandars.[10] In a similar vein, such prominent Sufis as Ibrāhīm Gīlānī (d. 700/1301), the preceptor of th better-known Ṣafī al-Dīn Ardabīlī (d. 735/1334), and the Chisht Muḥammad Gīsū'darāz (d. 826/1422) warned their followers agains mixing with the Qalandars.[11]

Clear condemnation of mendicant dervishes remained a consisten feature of elite intellectual life throughout the Later Middle Period Vāḥidī (fl. first half of the tenth/sixteenth century), the outspoke Ottoman Sufi critic of deviant renunciation, for instance, was vehe ment in his rejection of the dervishes as shameless hypocrites an impostors who traded in the religious sensibilities of the naturall ignorant and credulous common people. Vāḥidī denounced them a false Sufis, utterly lacking in any sincere religious sentiments, and a such definitely worse than infidels:

> Even the infidel comes to the fold of the faithful, but not the heretic dervish; the infidel has receptivity but not him.
>
> He is out of the sphere of hope while the infidel is in the circle of fear of God,
>
> by God, the infidel is far superior to him.[12]

Vāḥidī's contemporary Laṭīfī (d. 990/1582), the biographer of poets harbored the same sentiments toward deviant dervishes, whom h decried as partners of the devil.[13] Interestingly, much the same approach toward the scandalous dervishes and their audience is found in the European counterparts of these cultured Ottoman gentlemen The particular set of assumptions that governed elite views of new renunciation is fully displayed in the following colorful account o the Qalandars by Giovan Antonio Menavino, a well-informed and keen European observer of the Ottoman society of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries:

> Dressed in sheepskins, the *ṭorlaḳs* [read Qalandars] are otherwise naked, with no headgear.[14] Their scalps are always clean-shaven and well rubbed with oil as a precaution against the cold. They burn their temples with an old rag so that their faces will not be damaged by sweat. Illiterate and unable to do anything mainly, they live like beasts, surviving on alms only. For this reason, they

are to be found around taverns and public kitchens in cities. If, while roaming the countryside, they come across a well-dressed person, they try to make him one of their own, stripping him naked. Like Gypies in Europe, they practice chiromancy, especially for women who then provide them with bread, eggs, cheese, and other foods in return for their services. Amongst them there is usually an old man whom they revere and worship like God. When they enter a town, they gather around the best house of the town and listen in great humility to the words of this old man, who, after a spell of ecstasy, foretells the descent of a great evil upon the town. His disciples then implore him to fend off the disaster through his good services. The old man accepts the plea of his followers, though not without an initial show of reluctance, and prays to God, asking him to spare the town the imminent danger awaiting it. This time-honored trick earns them considerable sums of alms from ignorant and credulous people. The *torlaks* . . . chew hashish and sleep on the ground; they also openly practice sodomy like savage beasts.[15]

This passage transports us to the strange yet familiar landscape of "popular religion." Menavino's detailed tableau of the Qalandars is drawn against a dark and somewhat hellish landscape that is peopled with ignorant and credulous masses and the equally ignorant and thoroughly fraudulent group of false saints that the masses venerate. If they are not total idiots, the impostor saints exploit the religious sensitivities of the simple folk and extract material benefits from them. This inversion of the flow of blessings and compassion from saintly figures to the common people is accompanied by a thorough distancing of the popular scene through the addition of features that render the landscape strange and almost bestial. In all this, Menavino is closely followed by his later counterparts, whose general attitude to the dervishes is epitomized by the following sentences of E. W. Lane, the scholarly observer of early nineteenth-century Egyptian society:

That fancies such as these [that is, believing in *jinns*] should exist in the minds of a people so ignorant as those who are the subject of these pages cannot reasonably excite our surprise. But the Egyptians pay superstitious reverence not to imaginary beings alone: they extend it to certain individuals of their own species; and

> often to those who are justly the least entitled to such respect. . . . Most of the reputed saints of Egypt are either lunatics, or idiots, or impostors.[16]

To the "enlightened" cultural elite of both medieval Islamdom and Christendom, then, the antinomian dervish was the symbol par excellence of the religion of the vulgar. It is remarkable that this specific set of assumptions and the particular view of religion and human culture of which it is symptomatic have been operative since the Middle Ages and that they still inform the historiographical discourse within which research on the history of the Islamic region is conducted. In a ground-breaking article that returned the issue of popular religion to the agenda of historical research, Mehmed Fuad Köprülü (d. 1966) wrote about the deviant dervishes in the following terms:

> If we consider that these men were in general recruited from the lower classes and were incapable of [comprehending] some very subtle mystical observations and experiences, it becomes quite obvious that their undigested "pantheistic" beliefs would naturally lead to beliefs such as incarnation and metempsychosis and, in the final analysis, to "antinomianism." . . . As a general principle, beliefs that could only be digested by people who possess a [high degree] of philosophical capacity and who are susceptible to mystical experience always lead to consequences of this sort among people of feeble intellect.[17]

Closer to our own day, Fazlur Rahman (d. 1989) was even more vehement than Köprülü in his denunciation of popular religion. Referring to the seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries, he wrote:

> This phenomenon of popular religion very radically changed the aspect of Sūfism even if it did not entirely displace its very ideal. For practical purposes Islamic society underwent a metempsychosis. Instead of being a method of moral self-discipline and elevation and genuine spiritual enlightenment, Sūfism was now transformed into veritable spiritual jugglery through auto-hypnotic transports and visions just as at the level of doctrine it was being transmuted into a half-delirious theosophy. . . . This, combined with the spiritual demagogy of many Sūfi Shaykhs, opened the way for all

> kinds of aberrations, not the least of which was charlatanism. Ill-balanced *majdhūbs* . . . , parasitic mendicants, exploiting dervishes proclaimed Muhammad's Faith in the heyday of Sūfism. Islam was at the mercy of spiritual delinquents.[18]

It is small wonder that scholars have not taken any substantial interest in the culture of the "feeble-minded" masses and in the practices of "parasitic . . . spiritual delinquents." Significantly, Köprülü himself never published his monograph on the Qalandars, although he repeatedly announced its forthcoming appearance in several of his publications. Since the "vulgar" was nothing but a repository for distorted and contaminated versions of the subtle and pure beliefs of "high" religion, it simply made better sense to tap the original sources directly and consign "low" religion to where it belonged, in "the bosom of the vulgar."

There are serious problems with this "two-tiered" model of religion. The assumption of an unbridgeable separation between high, normative and low, antinomian religion serves to obscure rather than clarify the true nature of the deviant dervish groups and the process of their emergence in the aftermath of the Mongol invasions. While it may conceivably serve a heuristic purpose in other contexts, in the case of the dervish groups of the Later Middle Period the creation of a catch-all category of popular or low religion only confounds the researcher. Such a move strips this particular mode of dervish religiosity of its specific features and renders it immune to analysis by suggesting that it is essentially indistinct from the "popular" versions of other religious trends such as millenarianism and messianism. These mentally and sociologically distinct religious attitudes are thus reduced to the presumed common denominator of "popularity."[19]

The detailed historical examination of deviant dervish groups undertaken in the present work, however, yields results that seriously challenge the application of the two-tiered model of religion in the study of new renunciation. Such close scrutiny reveals that the movements in question formed a distinct religious phenomenon that differed radically from other purportedly popular religious phenomena such as millenarianism, messianism, and saint veneration. Dervish piety stood apart from all other modes of Islamic religiosity through its relentless emphasis on shocking social behavior and its

open contempt for social conformity. More significantly, it was not restricted in either social origin or appeal to "lower" social strata. It is not easy to determine the social composition of the dervish groups, but, contrary to the received view that the rank and file of the movements in question must have been composed of the illiterate and the ignorant, there is certainly sufficient evidence to establish that these movements frequently recruited from the middle and high social strata. The socially deviant way of renunciation was attractive enough to produce converts from several social strata of medieval Islamic society. Most telling in this connection is the fact that the cultural elite that consisted of the literati in the widest sense of the term lost some of its members, either temporarily or permanently, to the dervish cause. To judge by the presence of poets, scholars, and writers of a certain proficiency among their numbers, the anarchist dervishes were not always the illiterate crowd their detractors reported them to be. Instead, socially deviant renunciation exercised a strong attraction on the hearts and minds of many Muslim intellectuals.

Furthermore, dervish religiosity was, naturally, a distinct religious phenomenon that developed in a historically specific social and cultural context. Surely, its sudden appearance and rapid spread during the seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries require an explanation. It is a measure of the methodological poverty of the two-tiered model of religion that it not only fails to generate such an explanatory analysis but even obscures the obvious need for one by denying popular religion a historical dimension. The vulgar, it is understood, is timeless. Reliance on a dichotomous view of Islamic religion thus opens the way for the preponderance of externalistic explanations such as "survival of non-Islamic beliefs and practices under Islamic cover." Indeed, the ascendancy of popular religious practice during the Middle Periods is usually, if at all, explained through recourse to the time-honored "survival" theory. In this view, popular Islam took shape in the Near East during the Early Middle Period through large-scale conversions of the masses of unlettered peoples to Islam. As a result of this expansive process of conversion, "Islam, originally the religion of a political and urban elite, became the religion and social identity of most Middle Eastern peoples."[20] Outside the Near East, the process continued into the Later Middle Period through the conversion of nomadic Turks in

Central Asia (as well as in Iran and Asia Minor), Hindus of low caste in India, and Berbers and black peoples of Africa. The halfhearted and in most cases merely nominal Islamization of these masses barely in touch with high literate traditions, the argument runs, led to the introduction of non-Islamic, especially shamanistic and animistic, beliefs and practices into Islam. The ensuing revitalization of "popular culture," when coupled by the concomitant attenuation of Islamic high culture in the aftermath of the destructive wave of Mongol conquests, made possible the emergence and speedy diffusion of saint veneration in general and deviant mystic movements in particular in the heartlands of Islam.[21]

Applied to socially deviant renunciation, the theory of non-Islamic survivals would suggest that the emergence of new renunciation in medieval Islamdom should be understood in terms of the continuation of "primitive" non-Islamic belief patterns in imperfectly Islamized cultural environments. However, it is misleading to see deviant renunciation solely as a survival of pre-Islamic beliefs and practices. That there was a substantial degree of continuity between pre-Islamic and Islamic religious belief and practice in all the relevant cultural spheres is itself not in dispute here. Many components of dervish piety, especially in costume and paraphernalia such as the dervish staff or ankle bones and molar teeth, may well have had their origins in pre-Islamic or contemporary non-Islamic contexts.[22] Yet their reconfiguration into a visibly Islamic mode of religiosity occurred as a result of social dynamics internal to Islamic societies. Neither "survivals" nor "traces," these originally extraneous beliefs and practices became the building blocks of a new Islamic synthesis. Therefore, the explanation for the emergence and entrenchment of this mode of Islamic piety should be located within, rather than without, Islamic societies.

CHAPTER TWO

Renunciation Through Social Deviance

Dervish piety can be described as "renunciation of society through outrageous social deviance." This mode of religiosity was predicated upon complete and active rejection of society that was expressed through blatantly deviant social behavior. To the anarchist dervish, religious salvation was incompatible with a life led within the orders of society, since social life inevitably distanced humanity from God. Salvation could be found only in active, open, and total rejection of human culture, and the deviant dervish did not withdraw into the wild nature to lead a life of seclusion but created for himself a "social wilderness" at the heart of society where his fiercely antisocial activity functioned as a sobering critique of society's failure to reach God. Cautious not to become part of the "master narrative," the dervish carefully carved out his own space on the margins of that narrative, where he inscribed his boisterous commentary in a most conspicuous fashion.

It would, therefore, be correct to describe new renunciation as a movement based on rejection of society. The dervishes defined themselves through calculated defiance of the social order and proceeded to construct an intensely antiestablishment protest movement. They did not aim to replace the existing social order by a rival one, nor did they seek to reform society; they simply negated all cultural norms and structures. The negative, reactive nature of renunciation manifested itself in the form of blatant social deviance, which became the hallmark of dervish piety. In order to implement their anarchist agenda, the dervishes adopted numerous deviant practices. These can

be subsumed under the two general categories of asceticism and antinomianism.

ASCETICISM

Social deviance was manifested primarily in the form of an intense and permanent asceticism that was flaunted by the dervishes in their attempt to secure salvation through active renunciation of human social institutions. Their ascetic practices, which without exception all negated basic institutions of Islamic societies of the Middle Period, can be identified as poverty, mendicancy, itinerancy, celibacy, and self-inflicted pain.

Voluntary rejection of all property was perhaps the most prominent feature of dervish piety. It is well known that the very term *darvīsh* means "poor" or "indigent" in Persian (Arabic equivalent, *faqīr*).[1] The ascetic dervishes lived in absolute indigence, and their possessions were reduced to the bare minimum. The characteristic accoutrements of each dervish group included one or more of the following items: woolen or felt garment or animal hide, distinctive cap, begging bowl, pouch, spoon, club, belt, bell, hatchet, lamp or candle, razor, needle, flint stone, and musical instruments (commonly tambourine, drum, and pipe). The founding masters themselves appear to have practiced absolute poverty by rejecting even these minimal possessions. Jamāl al-Dīn Sāvī, Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar, and Otman Baba are all known, for instance, to have worn no clothing at all for long periods during their dervish careers.[2] Actualized in practice, voluntary poverty was also a well-articulated part of dervish ideology. The Qalandars, who had an elaborate discourse of poverty, rested their case on the example of the Prophet Muḥammad, who, they argued, chose poverty over the two worlds.[3] The Abdāls of Rūm, for their part, professed to be following in the footsteps of the Prophet Adam, who was almost completely naked and free of possessions when he was expelled from Paradise.[4]

The rule against owning property was accompanied by the injunction against gainful employment. The ascetic dervishes openly refused to participate in the economic reproduction of society. This is most conspicuous in the lives of the founding masters: Jamāl al-Dīn Sāvī, Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar, and Otman Baba all turned to nature for their sustenance and carefully avoided even physical contact with the

property of others. They categorically rejected all kinds of alms. In Otman Baba, who consistently likened property, especially money, to feces and reacted violently to any offer of alms, this unwillingness to accept alms went so far as to become an almost psychological repulsion.

For the majority of ascetic dervishes, however, the disdain for gainful employment meant continuous dependence on the generosity of others, especially for food. Begging and alms-taking, at times fairly regulated, became the rule. Due to lack of information, it is not possible to trace the evolution of the attitude of different groups toward mendicancy, yet it appears that if they had qualms about accepting gifts and donations to begin with, at least some Qalandars and Abdāls gradually discarded them. This relaxation of originally more stringent standards was most visible in the appearance of Qalandarī and Abdāl hospices, veritable institutions dependent upon carefully managed economic surplus and subject to political control. Even in such cases, however, belief in the efficacy and necessity of begging was never abandoned, and compromise solutions were found, such as living on the revenue of the hospice during winter months and begging for the rest of the year, as in the lodge of Seyyid Gāzī in northwest Asia Minor.

Homeless wandering was another trait shared by all ascetic dervish groups. Voluntary poverty and mendicancy easily led to renunciation of settled life. This was the case even when itinerancy did not play a major role in the careers of exemplary ascetics themselves. Although he developed a penchant for traveling before his conversion to extreme asceticism, Jamāl al-Dīn later came to prefer seclusion in cemeteries over wandering. Similarly, Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar seems to have spent all his adult life in the small town of Zāvah in northeast Iran. Nevertheless, their examples did not prevent their followers from adopting a life of itinerancy. In the case of the Abdāls, by contrast, the master himself, Otman Baba, was a homeless wanderer. In all cases, itinerancy, like begging, functioned both as the ultimate proof of and the best control over absolute poverty. The truly poor ones, except the formidable masters who survived either in the wilderness (like Quṭb al-Dīn) or in "cities of the dead" (like Jamāl al-Dīn), could not lead settled lives without compromising the principle of poverty. Unavoidably dependent upon the generosity of others, yet wary against reliance on any single source of sustenance for any

length of time, the voluntary poor naturally turned to homeless wandering as the only consistent solution.

It is beyond doubt that conversion to any one of the dervish paths entailed the rejection of marriage and the acceptance of celibacy. The importance given to the renunciation of all sexual reproduction is most pronounced in the case of the Qalandars and Haydarīs. Both Jamāl al-Dīn and Quṭb al-Dīn clearly viewed all sexual activity as a grave threat to a life of complete devotion to the sacred. According to some reports, the former owed his conversion to the Qalandarī path at least partially to his endeavor to remain chaste in accordance, it would seem, with the example of the Qur'ānic Yūsuf.[5] For his part, Quṭb al-Dīn must have been equally wary of his sexual powers, if, as seems likely, his followers' practice of suspending iron rings from their genitals was fashioned after the example of their master. In Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar's case, it may well be that his habit of immersing himself for long periods in cold water was, among other things, also a method of dampening the sexual instinct.[6] Even though similar feats are not recorded for the commonality of ascetic dervishes, celibacy as a corollary of absolute poverty clearly remained the rule among them.

Bodily mortification was a continuous feature of the life of an ascetic dervish. At the very least, all dervishes voluntarily subjected themselves to constant exposure by rejecting the comforts of settled life such as regular diet, shelter, and clothing. This basic condition of helplessness was exacerbated by additional mortifying practices such as shaving all bodily hair, wearing iron chains, rings, collars, bracelets, and anklets, and self-laceration. In all likelihood, these acts of self-denial were perceived by the dervishes not as self-inflicted pain but as the natural result as well as the confirmation of voluntary death before actual biological death. Complete devotion to the Divine entailed utter disregard for worldly existence, both physically and mentally. Active courting of physical death was a common component of dervish piety.

Several other ascetic practices—silence, seclusion, sleep-deprivation, and abstinence from food—are attested in the sources for the careers of the ascetic virtuosi who came to be venerated as founding fathers by their followers, yet it is impossible to know to what extent these additional methods of self-discipline continued to be used by

the dervish groups. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, one can only surmise that they were never completely abandoned.

Defined as rejection of property, gainful employment, social station, sexual reproduction, and bodily health, dervish asceticism seriously conflicted with the established social life of medieval Islamdom. Asceticism in itself was not, however, tantamount to social deviance. Practiced only by a negligible minority, the option of severe ascetic flight from society could be easily tolerated and even condoned by most Muslims, including the cultural elite. After all, asceticism had become a highly visible and much cherished component of Sufi piety several centuries before the Later Middle Period. Moderate and permanent asceticism was prescribed for all Sufis, while intense forms were used as temporary measures of spiritual discipline on the Sufi path. Even severe asceticism on a continuous basis could be accommodated through recourse to the doctrine of divine attraction (*jadhbah*), whereby the Sufi was thought to be drawn out of society toward God without regard for the social consequences of such attraction. The divinely pulled ones (*majdhūbs*) could practice extreme forms of asceticism through the grace and will of God, even if this meant operating in shady areas of the religious law (*sharīʿah*).[8]

Dervish piety, however, had as its core an uncompromising rejection of society. For the anarchist dervish, asceticism was only a tool, albeit indispensable, in the struggle to shatter the shackles that social life placed on true religiosity. The religious perils of human interaction could not be avoided through an ascetic flight from society. The dervish did not abandon his social station in order to lead the life of a recluse. Only an active nihilism targeted directly at human society could sever him from his social past and lead him to the proximity of salvation. His religious struggle had a chance to succeed only if he combined his asceticism with anarchist practices that allowed him to test his spiritual stamina in action. Thus, the other face of dervish piety was an uncompromising antinomianism.

ANTINOMIANISM

Deviant dervishes were thoroughly antinomian in appearance and behavior. They violated all social norms with equal ease and indifference and deliberately embraced a variety of unconventional and socially liminal practices.

Perhaps the most potent antinomian feature of new renunciation, certainly the most often cited and criticized, was open disregard for prescribed Islamic ritual practices. The extent to which different groups at different times neglected to fulfill their ritual obligations is impossible to ascertain. Nevertheless, there is little reason to question the accuracy of the reports contained in many sources, hostile and friendly, to the effect that deviant dervishes neither prayed nor fasted. In this context, silence on this issue in sympathetic texts is particularly telling. In Jamāl al-Dīn's sacred biography, for instance, there are only two casual references to ritual prayer, while the hagiography of Otman Baba fares only slightly better in this respect.[9] For its part, the report that Barak Baba's disciples were required to perform prescribed religious practices on pain of forty blows of the bastinado itself reveals the difficulty of enforcing these practices on the dervishes.[10] Moreover, it appears that at least some groups replaced ritual prayer in particular with utterance of simple formulaic expressions. Such was the case with the Qalandars and Abdāls of Rūm, among whom the utterance of the formula "God is the Greatest" (*takbīr*) clearly had a ritual function and may have come to replace the daily ritual prayer.[11] The dervishes' disregard for daily prayer and fasting presumably also carried over to the religious duties of legal charity and pilgrimage. The former was not binding on the propertyless dervishes, while the lack of reports on anarchist dervishes wandering toward Mecca suggests that the ritual pilgrimage was not on the agenda of renunciation.

In addition to eschewing ritual obligations, the dervishes further contravened the *shari'ah*, in spirit if not always in letter, by adopting patently scandalous and antisocial practices. Foremost among these, on account of its conspicuous nature, was the cultivation of a bizarre general appearance. The coiffure, apparel, and paraphernalia of the dervishes were all shockingly strange. In a social setting where external appearance functioned as an unfailing marker of social identity, the refusal to adopt socially and legally sanctioned patterns of costume and their deliberate replacement by outrageous dress codes clearly signified protest and rejection of social convention.

In dress, the dervishes set themselves off from all social types in a variety of ways. Some went completely naked, while others wore only a simple loincloth. Still other dervishes adopted the time-honored garment of social withdrawal, the woolen or felt cloak,

though blue, the Sufi color, was avoided in favor of black or white. The Qalandars of Jamāl al-Dīn's times wore plain woolen sacks and thus were known as Jawlaqs or Jawlaqīs. The Abdāls of Rūm, in an innovative antisocial move, donned animal hides as their sole garment. The dervishes also registered their protest in headgear, either by not wearing any or by designing distinctive hats. Most dervishes seem to have gone barefoot.[12]

The most radical measure in coiffure was the fourfold shave called the "four blows" (*chahār żarb*): shaving off the hair, beard, moustache, and eyebrows. The fourfold shave was the distinctive mark of the Qalandars and was also adopted by the Abdāls of Rūm, Bektāşīs, and Shams-i Tabrīzīs and Jalālīs. For their part, the Ḥaydarīs and Jāmīs shaved their beards but let their moustaches grow long. Both of these practices were clear departures from the example of the Prophet Muḥammad (*sunnah*), which enjoined the wearing of beards and moustaches.[13] They also contravened established social custom in medieval Islamic societies, in which the loss of hair symbolized loss of honor and social status.[14] In a typical renunciatory move, the dervishes adopted the socially reprehensible practice of the "clean shave" and thus charged it with a new, positive meaning.[15]

The equipment of the dervishes was also peculiar. Apart from the standard begging bowl and the dervish club, they also possessed outlandish paraphernalia. The Ḥaydarīs had a predilection for iron rings, collars, bracelets, belts, anklets, and chains. The Abdāls of Rūm carried distinctive hatchets, leather pouches, large wooden spoons, and ankle-bones. While the ideological and practical significance of some of these accoutrements can be reasonably reconstructed (iron equipment, for instance, clearly stood for strict control over the *nafs* or animal soul), the meaning of others (like ankle-bones) remains obscure.

Besides the careful cultivation of a scandalous external appearance, the dervishes violated social and legal norms by adopting legally suspicious and unconventional practices. Perhaps the most conspicuous was the use of intoxicants and hallucinogens. The use of cannabis leaves is clearly documented in the case of all three dervish groups. The very "discovery" of the use of hashish as a hallucinogen was attributed to both Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar and Jamāl al-Dīn Sāvī, while there are repeated reports that demonstrate the significance of hashish for both the Qalandars and Abdāls of Rūm.[16] Although it is quite

possible that consumption of cannabis leaves had assumed the proportions of ritual among the dervishes, this presumption cannot be substantiated due to lack of detailed information on this subject.[17] That open recourse to hallucinogens and intoxicants (reports suggest that at least some dervishes such as the Jāmīs and Shams-i Tabrīzīs also consumed alcohol) was sufficient to place the dervish groups beyond the pale of social respectability, however, cannot be doubted.[18]

In a similar vein, ascetic renouncers also offended social sensibilities through their conspicuous elevation of music and dance to the status of ritual practice. Though largely domesticated by Sufism, the use of music and dance in religious contexts remained, in legal terms, a suspicious practice in Islamic societies in the Early Middle Period.[19] As was their custom, the dervishes did not hesitate to indulge in radical behavior in this regard as well. They apparently carried tambourines, drums, and horns at all times and incorporated singing and dancing in ceremonies conducted in public. The Abdāls of Rūm and Jāmīs in particular were notorious for their large-scale gatherings in which music and dance occupied a prominent place, though the same practice is also recorded for the Qalandars and Haydarīs.

Another antisocial dervish practice, particularly inscrutable from a modern perspective, was self-laceration and self-cauterization. The Abdāls of Rūm displayed excessive zeal in carving names and figures on their bodies, a practice not recorded for the other dervish groups. This may presumably be explained by the fervent Shī'ism of the Abdāls. Whatever the religious and psychological motives behind such behavior, it manifestly deviated from established religious custom in Ottoman Anatolia and the Balkans and increased the distance between Abdāl piety and social convention.

On a different front, the detractors of the Qalandars and Abdāls of Rūm in particular accused them of reprehensible forms of sexual libertinism, especially sodomy and zoophilism. While such trite accusations should be taken with a grain of salt, they cannot be discarded altogether. Rejection of marriage, or even of the female sex, does not entail complete abstinence from sexual activity. Celibacy, in this context, meant primarily the refusal to participate in the sexual reproduction of society and did not exclude unproductive forms of sexual activity. It is likely, therefore, that antisocial ways of sexual gratification came to be included in the deliberately rejectionist

repertoire of some dervishes. The existence of a distinct group of youths known as *kōçeks* (from Persian *kūchak*, "youngster") among the Abdāls is certainly suggestive in this regard.[20]

The penchant of the dervishes for distancing themselves from the established social and religious order is also visible in their adoption of controversial and extremist beliefs and doctrines. The strategy of the dervishes here was to apply radical interpretations to central religious, in particular mystical, concepts such as passing away of the self (*fanā'*), poverty (*faqr*), theophany (*tajallī*), and sainthood (*walāyah*). Indeed, the very antinomianism of their practices was viewed by the anarchist dervishes themselves as the natural result of the "correct" interpretation of these concepts. Thus, deviant renunciation was often justified by passing away of the self, which was expressed in the language of death. The dervish was one who voluntarily chose death and "died before dying." The alleged *ḥadīth* (saying of the Prophet Muḥammad) *mūtū qabla an tamūtū*, "die before you die," supplied the prophetic sanction for this attitude.[21] Technically, the dervish considered himself to have the status of a dead person. He often demonstrated the utter seriousness of this conviction physically by dwelling in cemeteries.[22] The implication, significantly, was that he was not bound by social and legal norms. The latter applied to "legal persons" of clear social standing. The dervish, having shattered the confines of society, had no social persona: he functioned in a territory that was above and beyond society.

Similar renunciatory interpretations of the concepts of poverty, theophany, and sainthood always yielded the same rejectionist conclusion. Poverty literally meant absolute poverty. Theophany implied the presence of God in all his Creation, and thus the meaninglessness of legal prescriptions and proscriptions. Sainthood meant the existence of saints, the dervishes themselves, who were exempt from social and legal regulations. The underlying message was always the same: the dervish had to implement an absolute break with his social past and to devote his future solely to God by means of radical renunciation.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the anarchist dervishes adopted "heretic" views with ease, probably in order to strengthen their rejectionist agenda. Such was the case with the fervent Shī'ism of the Abdāls of Rūm and Jalālīs, which the dervishes displayed ostenta-

tiously in the heavily Sunnī cultural areas they inhabited. Also remarkable in this context was the belief, common especially among the dervishes who practiced the fourfold shave, that the human face reflected divine beauty. This was clearly a continuation of the well-attested Sufi practice of "looking at beardless boys," a "dangerous" practice much criticized by Sufis themselves.[23] At the same time, the adoration of the human face may also reflect the influence of Ḥurūfiyah, a new religious movement that came into being toward the end of the eighth/fourteenth century in Iran and Asia Minor, since according to Ḥurūfī tenets the human face was the locus par excellence of the continuous theophany of the Divine in human beings.[24]

In summary, the severely ascetic and cheerfully antinomian practices of the dervishes assume their real meaning only when viewed in their proper context: rejection of society. The synthesis of the ascetic principles of poverty, mendicancy, itinerancy, celibacy, and bodily mortification with the antinomian features of disregard for religious duties, outrageous external appearance, adoption of legally suspicious and unconventional practices, and appropriation of extremist beliefs resulted in the emergence of a new mode of religiosity along the axis of renunciation. The basis of this new renunciatory piety was open and deliberate rejection of the social order. The dervishes negated the existing social structure in all its dimensions. This negation was most conspicuous in the conflict between the adamantly individualistic dervish piety and the normative legal system constructed by religious scholars and accepted, albeit with serious qualifications, by the Sufis. Dead to society, the dervishes were also impervious to legal sanctions. They cheerfully proceeded to replace the prescriptive and proscriptive injunctions of the *sharī'ah* by another code of behavior, in which deliberate eschewal of the religious law played a key role. Thus, they abandoned observation of the ritual and other legal obligations almost completely and freely violated socially sensitive legal proscriptions and prescriptions.[25]

The dervishes did not, however, stop at negation of society pure and simple. The life of a hermit in the wilderness, for instance, equally built on rejection of society, failed to appeal to them. Anchoritism was never a serious option. Instead, the dervishes had to test the salvational efficacy of their renunciatory spirituality through action within the world. Rejection of society functioned as an effective

mode of piety only when it was conspicuously and continuously targeted at society. For the individual dervish, this meant radical conversion to and permanent preservation of the option of renunciation through blatant social deviance.

CHAPTER THREE

Renunciation, Deviant Individualism, and Sufism

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a broad context for the study of renunciation in Islam and to locate points of articulation between the mode of dervish piety displayed by world-denying dervish groups of the Later Middle Period on the one hand and previous or contemporary modes of Islamic religiosity on the other. The argument throughout is that renunciatory dervish piety emerged from within Sufism as a new synthesis of two of its most powerful subcurrents: asceticism and anarchist individualism.

RENUNCIATION

A pivotal conflict in the development of Islamic religiosity during the first two centuries of Islam was the confrontation between world-embracing and world-rejecting attitudes.[1] A powerful tendency to reject the world, inherent in the conception of a supramundane God and the postulate of an "other" world, was everywhere opposed by an equally strong tendency to embrace the world by rendering salvation conditional on morally correct behavior in society. Significantly, the sources of the Islamic religion—the Qur'ān and the "example of the Prophet Muḥammad" (*sunnah*)—lent themselves to both this-worldly and other-worldly constructions. The Qur'ān supplied Muslims with many unequivocally renunciatory verses that called believers to eschew this world and to turn their gaze firmly toward the other world.[2] Other Qur'ānic verses, equally numerous and clear in meaning, plunged the believers into the quagmire of

mundane affairs, leaving no doubt that other-worldly salvation was contingent upon acceptable performance in the social arena.[3] The *sunnah*, a fluid reality throughout this period, was subject to the same ambiguity. If it was possible to activate the essentially renunciatory core of the *sunnah* to challenge world-embracing Muslims, it remained equally possible to respond by carefully grooming the image of the Prophet Muḥammad to endorse a world-embracing mode of religiosity.[4] The result was a deep structural tension within the religion that set adrift conflicting attitudes toward the world, any one of which could, nevertheless, be Islamically legitimized on the basis of clear Qur'ānic verses and sound *ḥadīth*-reports.

Although it is difficult to ascertain the relative weight of affirmative and renunciatory approaches to the world in early Islamic history, there is little doubt that world-embracing tendencies gained a major impetus with the establishment of an international Islamic empire in the the Near East. The conquests that laid the foundation for this empire, insofar as they reflected the religious duty of securing the supremacy of Islam in the world (*jihād*), were themselves concrete proof that most Muslims had accepted such military action as legitimate salvational activity on earth.[5] The activism inherent in the doctrine of *jihād* rapidly crystallized into clearly articulated this-worldly political agendas, a process that eventually culminated in the hegemony of political activism on the level of political ideology. Even though quietism was also prominently represented in the form of the Murji'ī movement, it stopped short of denying the world, motivated as it was by an "anti-sectarian emphasis on the community at large."[6] The concern with the unity and worldly supremacy of the community assured the ascendancy of world-embracing ideas in the realm of politics.

A similar process was at work in the domain of economic activity. The accumulation of enormous economic power in Muslim hands, in itself a sign of this-worldly orientation, greatly facilitated the entrenchment of economic attitudes favorable to the world. This is most clearly visible in the key role that merchant capital played in the emergence and unfolding of High Caliphal Islamic society.[7] Gradually, and not without considerable opposition, a world-embracing economic ethnic became normative.

Political and economic affirmation of the world, however, had to be legitimized in religious terms. Here the most impressive achieve-

ment of Muslims who viewed human society as the true arena of salvational activity was the development of a formidable legal apparatus, the *sharīʿah*, designed to facilitate salvation by the regulation of social life within a soteriological normative framework. Perhaps the clearest indicator of world-affirmation in the *sharīʿah* was the development of the doctrine of "consensus" (*ijmāʿ*). This doctrine expressed the binding nature of the consensus of the community of believers (*ummah*); it embodied in effect the recognition of the community as the sole legitimate religious authority within the Sunnī sphere. Expressed somewhat differently, the doctrine of *ijmāʿ* acknowledged the community as the only proper receptacle, bearer, and dispenser of the Qur'ān and the *sunnah*, the sole point of contact, albeit indirect, with God.[8] The identification of the community of believers as the third source of legal authority after the Qur'ān and the *sunnah* necessitated a consistent emphasis on the communal as opposed to the private in religious life. In practice, this emphasis meant the primacy of public ritual and religiously sanctioned norms (the *sharīʿah*) over private religiosity and morality. In all areas of the sacred in society, the exoteric (*ẓāhir*) was privileged over the esoteric (*bāṭin*); aspects of private piety that were not susceptible to public scrutiny automatically became suspect as being potentially anticommunal. Not only could the private disrupt communal homogeneity by opening the door to blameworthy innovation (*bidʿah sayyiʾah*) and antinomianism, but it would in the long run also violate the primacy of the community through its propensity to generate claims of personal proximity to God. In the eyes of the "people of the community," therefore, the community's need to safeguard the core of religion overrode the equally urgent need to develop modes of piety that could satisfy the demands of the individual believer for a direct relationship with God.[9]

No matter how efficacious, however, the community-oriented argument that rested on the solid bed of *ijmāʿ* and drew strength from the political and economic achievements of the Muslim community could not dampen, let alone extinguish, the salvational anxieties of believing individuals. The latter could be placated only by a mode of piety that placed individual conscience at its heart. Thus, simultaneously with, and no doubt primarily in reaction to, the rising tide of this-worldliness in the Muslim community, ascetic tendencies of world renunciation (*zuhd*) rose to the surface.

Renunciation was a pious religious attitude that foregrounded the effort of the individual Muslim to establish a private rapport with God. The critique of renouncers was built on the God-humanity axis of religiosity and took the human individual, after God himself, to be the single most important variable in the religious equation. This critique went right to the heart of every pious Muslim believer. No one could deny that Islam, as a religion, had individual conscience at its core. In the final analysis, the helpless and weak believer had to face the absolute Master alone.

The motive force of renunciation was originally the fear of God, or deep anxiety for one's fate in the afterlife. Its dominant characteristic was strong aversion to the world, which was viewed as a barrier to godly piety and eternal salvation. Such a negative valuation of the world led to the adoption of characteristically ascetic principles such as celibacy, solitude, excessive fasting, vegetarianism, poverty, rejection of economic activity, indifference to public opinion, and even withdrawing to cemeteries for ascetic exercises.[10] "Wool-wearing" renouncers everywhere personified the troubled religious consciences of pious Muslim individuals.

The conflict between world-affirmers and renouncers reached a culmination during the first half of the third/ninth century. While the former were busy putting the finishing touches to their community-based legal system (witness the activity of al-Shāfiʿī, 150–205/767–820), the latter took renunciation to its height with the doctrine of "complete reliance on God" (*tawakkul*). The privileging of the doctrine of reliance, which first surfaced in the thought of Shaqīq Balkhī (d. 194/809–10) and remained prevalent until the mid-third/ninth century, involved a subtle yet extremely significant shift of emphasis from negative rejection of the world to positive and exclusive orientation toward God. Fear of God and concern for the afterlife were replaced by complete surrender to God's will. Some features of the ascetic period, such as continence, began to disappear in the "*tawakkul* era," though rejection of gainful employment remained as the central practical manifestation of true *tawakkul*.[11] Significantly, it was in this period that probing legal treatises on the question of gainful employment, such as the *Kitāb al-kasb* of Muḥammad al-Shaybānī (d. 189/804), were written, largely "to overcome deep-seated religious prejudices against making money, convictions made popular by mendicant ascetics."[12] It is also likely that many of the

well-known antiascetic *ḥadīth* were put into circulation at this time in response to the trenchant critique of worldly involvement contained in the striking ascetic feats of prominent renouncers.[13] In addition, the detractors seem to have utilized the similarities between the ascetics and Christian monks to their own benefit in their polemic.[14] In spite of all the strong criticism against it, the ascetic option clearly continued to captivate especially the cultural elite, as evidenced by the emergence at this time of *zuhdiyāt*, a poetic genre defined by the theme of asceticism.[15] The rift between the two approaches had reached alarming levels.

It was at this juncture that Sufism emerged as a new mode of piety that bridged the abyss between individualist renunciatory piety and community-oriented legalist world-affirmation. It did so by means of a creative synthesis, which represented, to all indications, a powerful reinterpretation of the doctrine of unity (*tawḥīd*). The "this world/other world" dichotomy of the early asceticism was first gradually displaced by the antithesis "God/all other than God," which then led to a positive evaluation of the latter through the application of the doctrine of unity. Whatever God created, in particular this world, had to be accepted. This was an extremely productive maneuver that, with one stroke, neutralized ascetic devaluation of the world and brought God into the reach of the individual. As a creation of God, the world was essentially divested of its negative features and became the legitimate arena of salvational activity. Life in society was now seen not as an evil snare that had to be shunned at all cost but as a challenge, admittedly formidable but not insurmountable, on the path that led humanity to God. In some sense, this world too, like the other world, was infused with the Divine, which rendered God accessible to the individual living in society. The theoretical elaboration of this view took several centuries and reached its zenith in the thought of Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) only after the fertilization of Sufi theorizing by the philosophical tradition. The flower was, however, already present in the seed that gave birth to it, and the impact of the creative synthesis of the classical phase of Sufism was felt in all aspects of Islamic culture from mid-third/ninth century onward. "Inner-worldly mysticism" became a real force within Islam.[16]

The positive evaluation of worldly existence dealt a heavy blow to asceticism as an independent mode of piety, as evidenced by a new

contempt for practical *tawakkul*. Sufis, themselves mostly gainfully employed, generally disapproved of rejection of economic activity.[17] Other principles of asceticism, such as seclusion (*khaluwah*, *'uzlah*), abstinence (*jū'*), and silence (*samt*), were transformed into mere techniques of spiritual discipline.[18]

Slowly, but surely, Sufism and mainstream religiosity blended. The coalescence of Sufism with Sunnī communalism was not the work of Sufi propagandists alone, but came about as the result of an alliance. On one hand, Sufis recognized the need to smooth the rough edges of their erstwhile individualistic piety, a task which they took very seriously, to judge by the number and prominence of communalistic Sufi manuals produced during the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries. On the other hand, "the people of the *sunnah* and the community," represented most prominently by Shāfi'īs and Ḥanbalīs in Iraq, came to realize the rich potential of Sufism to absorb the threat posed by the uncompromisingly individualistic piety of other-worldly asceticism. In this context, it is likely that the capacity inherent in Sufism to preempt the Shī'ī option due to the affinity between the two modes of piety was not lost on the communalists. The result was a powerful coalition of forces that was to preserve its efficacy even when transported outside its land of origin, Iraq, to another region of Islamdom that played a key role in the development of Islamic piety, Khorasan.

The conflict between world-affirmers and renouncers came to a head in Khorasan roughly one century later than in Iraq, in the mid-fourth/tenth century. Here the renouncers wielded tremendous social and religious power. The Karrāmīyah, as the ascetic movement in Khorasan and eastern Iran was known, appeared to have the upper hand throughout this region. The movement was well organized and in time developed a distinctive institution, the hospice (*khānqāh*), that later spread within Islamdom under a transformed Sufi affiliation.[19] The antisocial tendencies of the Karrāmīyah, epitomized in aversion to gainful employment, were countered locally by the this-worldly practices of the Malāmatīyah, also an indigenous movement. The Malāmatīyah had as its basis the belief that piety and godly devotion should not be reduced to a single vocation out of many in social life but should instead infuse its every aspect. Such thorough suffusion of human life in this world with pure religiosity was possible only through concealment of one's inner spiritual states, for their manifes-

tation would ineluctably lead the individual to claim the prerogatives of a religious specialist and would therefore result in the establishment of separate religious tracks in social life, which was anathema. This clear affirmation of communal life translated, on the level of the individual, to the rule to earn one's own livelihood: the Malāmatīs, who probably had organic links with artisans and urban "young-manliness" (*futuwwah*) organizations, had no tolerance for the parasitic social existence of the Karrāmīs.[20]

The nature of the confrontation between the other-worldly Karrāmīs and inner-worldly Malāmatīs was transformed by the introduction and gradual ascendancy of Iraqī Sufism in Khorasan during the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries. Through the efficacy of its powerful synthesis of individualist and communalist tendencies, Sufism disenfranchised both the Karrāmīyah and Malāmatīyah by sapping them of their spiritual thrust and absorbing their institutional features. From the former, it adopted the institution of the *khānqāh*; from the latter, it inherited the *futuwwah* lore and practices. In the process, the Karrāmīyah, also vehemently opposed by mainstream Sunnīs, was gradually relegated to an obscure role as a historical sect in heresiographies, while the Malāmatīyah was transformed into a subcurrent in the rich sea of Sufism. The social and spiritual supremacy of Sufism had been firmly established.[21]

DEVIANT INDIVIDUALISM

Antisocial dervish piety had its historical roots primarily in the ascetic tradition as domesticated within Sufism. In addition to asceticism, however, dervish renouncers drew upon another mode of piety also available within Sufism: uncompromising and often fiercely unconventional individualism.

In Weberian terms, "inner-worldly mysticism" is closely connected with its typological counterpart, "contemplative flight from the world." Sufism, which demonstrated its this-worldly credentials by appropriating and naturalizing asceticism, was still subject to the antisocial pull of the option of other-worldly contemplation. The domestication of this trend was an extremely difficult, almost impossible proposition. Individualist gnosis was inherent at the very core of Sufism. Insofar as the highest levels of Sufi experience, passing away from the self (*fanā' 'an al-nafs*) and passing away in God (*fanā' fī*

allāh), meant the annihilation of the self as a social entity, th temptation to slip into unbridled antisocial individualism was ver real. This tendency was kept at bay largely through sober emphasi on *baqā'*, the idea that the "reconstituted self" of the mystic shoul "subsist" in society.[22] Nevertheless, the fault line along the axi that separated Sufi this-worldly tendencies from other-worldly one remained forever active. Sufis felt obliged to acknowledge the superi ority of divine attraction (*jadhbah*) over active self-exertion, "stridin along the path" (*sulūk*). It is true that a qualified spiritual guide ha to have experience of both divine attraction and striding, sinc neither one alone could produce a well-rounded master.[23] Yet Sufi consistently ranked *jadhbah* the highest on the level of private mystica experience.[24] Contemplative flight from the world continued to in form Sufism.

The history of the other-worldly individualist strain within Su fism, at once complex and obscure, cannot be given here. Such history would have, on one hand, to deal extensively with concept like *ibāḥah* (antinomianism), *ḥulūl* (incarnation), and *ittiḥād* (union and, on the other hand, to display sensitivity to social consequence of central Sufi beliefs and practices.[25] However, one particular mani festation of uncompromising individualism that is pertinent to der vish piety demands attention here: the mode of religiosity that wa denoted by terms deriving from the word *qalandar* even before th appearance of the Qalandars as a distinct group of renouncing der vishes under the formative influence of Jamāl al-Dīn Sāvī.[26]

There is considerable evidence that Qalandarīyah was in existenc as a religious attitude well before the seventh/thirteenth century Such evidence can be grouped into two separate categories, one tha deals with the Qalandar-topos in Persian literature and another tha focuses on the Qalandarī trend as reflected in Sufi theoretical treatises

Qalandars in Persian Literature

The early history of the Qalandar as a type in Persian literature i unclear.[27] If the attribution of a quatrain in which the word *qalanda* is used to Bābā Ṭāhir-i ʿUryān (d. first half of the fifth/eleventl century) is well grounded (though this remains to be established) then it might be possible to argue that the literary Qalandar ha already appeared in Persian literature by the end of the fourth/tentl

century.[28] Two quatrains said to have been uttered by Abū Saʿīd-i Abū al-Khayr (357–440/967–1049) would seem to complement these verses of Bābā Ṭāhir; the attribution, however, is no less problematic in this case.[29]

Somewhat later is the short *Risālah-i Qalandar'nāmah* of ʿAbd Allāh Ansārī (d. 481/1088–89). This treatise, again of uncertain attribution, records a conversation of the young Ansārī with a Qalandarī master. Its central theme is the necessity of abandoning the world, preferably through mendicancy, constant traveling, and frequenting graveyards. All of these ideals are relevant to Qalandarīyah; particularly striking in this connection is Jamāl al-Dīn's predilection for graveyards.[30]

For the following century, however, literary evidence is at once more extensive and of a more determinate nature. Aḥmad Ghazālī (d. 520/1126), ʿAyn al-Quẓāt Hamadānī (d. 525/1130–31), Sanāʾī (d. 545/1150–51), and Khāqānī (d. 595/1198–99) all wrote what were later classified as *Qalandarīyāt* in some manuscripts, that is, poems on wine-drinking, gambling, profane love, and rejection of religion. The Qalandar type, whose characteristics in this early stage of Persian Sufi poetry remain to be determined, is almost fully developed in the works of these sixth/twelfth-century poets and writers; the word *qalandar* itself occurs on many an occasion in their works.[31] Nevertheless, it was during a later phase of Persian Sufi poetry, beginning with ʿAṭṭār (d. after 618/1221–22) continuing through ʿIrāqī (d. 688/1289) and Saʿdī (d. 691/1291–92), and culminating with Ḥāfiẓ (d. 792/1389–90), that the Qalandar type developed into a true literary topos. As a complex of tightly knit images, this topos is interwoven with other themes in individual poems, normally *ghazals*, though one also comes across independent verse compositions devoted solely to the Qalandar image, as in the short *Qalandar'nāmah* in fifty-six couplets by Amīr Ḥusaynī (d. 718/1318–19).[32]

The main feature of the literary Qalandar was deliberate and open disregard for social convention in the cause of "true" religious love. This social anarchism was expressed in the imagery of the Qalandar-topos: visiting the *kharābāt* (tavern, gambling house, brothel), wine-drinking, gambling, and irreligion. Further elaboration of the topos clearly requires a thorough internal analysis of the relevant texts.[33] In any event, the literary evidence does not reflect any phenomenon that could be called a Qalandarī movement. There is no clear mention of wandering groups of Qalandars in our texts; the Qalandar in poetry

at this stage, inasmuch as the word denotes persons rather than attitudes, is normally an isolated, lonely individual.[34] There is, however, some external evidence that makes it possible to correlate this literary Qalandar with his actual counterparts.

Qalandars in Sufi Theoretical Literature

Since the intellectual roots of the Qalandar tradition in Persian poetry are buried in darkness, it has become customary to turn to Sufi theoretical literature in search of the real meaning of the Qalandarī attitude. The most significant reference point in this respect is the following account by Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234) from the ninth chapter of his *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif,* where Qalandars are discussed alongside other groups which do not belong to Ṣūfiyah but are only affiliated with it:

> The term Qalandarīyah denotes people who are governed by the intoxication [engendered by] the tranquillity of their hearts to the point of destroying customs and throwing off the bonds of social intercourse, traveling [as they are] in the fields of the tranquillity of their hearts. They observe the ritual prayer and fasting only insofar as these are obligatory and do not hesitate to indulge in those pleasures of the world that are permitted by the Law; nay, they content themselves with keeping within the bounds of what is permissible and do not go in search of the truths of legal obligation. All the same, they persist in rejecting hoarding and accumulation [of wealth] and the desire to have more. They do not observe the rites of the ascetic, the abstemious, and the devout and confine themselves to, and are content with, the tranquillity of their hearts with God. Nor do they have an eye for any desire to increase what they already possess of this tranquillity of the heart. The difference between the Malāmatī and the Qalandar is that the former strives to conceal his acts of devotion while the latter strives to destroy custom. . . . The Qalandar is not bound by external appearance and is not concerned with what others may or may not know of his state. He is attached to nothing but the tranquillity of his heart, which is his sole property.[35]

Al-Suhrawardī's account is significant for a number of reasons. First, it is very noticeable that there is in this report, reproduced

almost word for word by many later writers such as al-Maqrīzī and Jāmī,[36] nothing that would suggest a familiarity with the more or less institutionalized Qalandarīyah that was already taking shape under the leadership of Jamāl al-Dīn Sāvī in Damascus and Damietta—in al-Suhrawardī's lifetime. It is highly unlikely, for instance, that anyone who was informed about Jamāl al-Dīn's activities could make the remark that Qalandars "do not observe the rites of the ascetic, the abstemious, and the devout." Moreover, al-Suhrawardī makes no reference to *chahār żarb* or to characteristic Qalandarī apparel. It appears, therefore, that when he finished writing the *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* (the *terminus ad quem* for the composition of this work is 624/1227), al-Suhrawardī knew nothing of the nascent Qalandarī movement in Damascus.[37]

Second, it is clear that during al-Suhrawardī's lifetime it was possible to talk of a distinct religious attitude identified as Qalandarīyah.[38] Indeed, al-Suhrawardī's description of this attitude is strongly reminiscent of the Qalandar-topos in Persian poetry. Particularly striking in this regard is the deliberate anticonventionalism of both the literary Qalandar and al-Suhrawardī's "real" Qalandars. In addition, al-Suhrawardī's insistence on the Qalandarī fascination with the tranquillity of the heart and, perhaps more significantly, his observation that the Qalandars have a minimalist understanding of the religious law increase the likelihood of this convergence. The passage in the *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* on the Qalandarīyah suggests therefore that the Qalandar-topos in pre-thirteenth-century Persian poetry was not just a poetic convention but also reflected a religious attitude that was represented in society by real Qalandars.

Third, it is significant that al-Suhrawardī makes a distinction between Qalandarīyah and Ṣūfīyah. The validity of this distinction is rather dubious. The basis of al-Suhrawardī's argument seems to have been that since the Qalandar did not have any goal other than asserting his state of inner contentment at all costs, he did not strictly speaking partake in any mystical quest. Such a definition, however, can equally be used to describe many Sufis, especially of the passive *majdhūb* type. It is likely al-Suhrawardī was disturbed by the fact that the Qalandar did not hesitate to transgress the boundaries of what was socially permissible and, worse, had only minimal respect for the law. It is, therefore, possible to see in al-Suhrawardī's distinction between Qalandarīyah and Ṣūfīyah the somewhat tendentious at-

tempt of a socially conscious, highly this-worldly Sufi master to dissociate the former, a clearly antisocial current within Sufism, from the latter, an overwhelmingly "inner-worldly," socially respectable mode of piety.

As a fourth and final point, it is remarkable that al-Suhrawardī discusses the Qalandars along with the Malāmatīyah, possibly an originally non-Sufi religious movement. He argues that the Qalandar clearly differed from the Malāmatī in certain respects. The Malāmatī's main concern was to hide his inner state from others for fear that an ostentatious display of piety would lead to overindulgence in the self and ultimately to self-complacency, thus distancing the believer from God. It was because of his painstaking endeavor to conceal the true nature of his religiosity that he sought to incur public blame by deliberately transgressing the limits of social and legal acceptability. There were, however, limits to such transgression, since the overwhelming concern of the Malāmatī was to blend into society in an effort to construct a veil of anonymity around himself. Most significant in this regard was the Malāmatī refusal to adopt distinctive attire, paraphernalia, and rites and practices. Similarly, the Malāmatī took care to earn his own livelihood and looked with contempt on those Sufis who survived only on alms and charity. Thus, while he could be, in extreme cases, as socially deviant as the Qalandar, the Malāmatī functioned within a "performance paradigm," where the nature and meaning of religious belief and practice as performed by individual believers were conditioned by other believers' perception of them. The Qalandar, however, claimed to have transcended this paradigm altogether. He too was concerned exclusively with his own inner state, yet he rejected the basic premise of the Malāmatī in his refusal to acknowledge the importance of any audience other than God, the auditor par excellence. From this standpoint, the social and legal transgression of the Qalandar was only an incidental outcome of his primary endeavor, the attainment and preservation of the tranquillity of his heart with respect to God. Insofar as it distracted the Qalandar from achieving this goal, social attachment of all kinds was perceived as an obstacle and simply discarded.

The Qalandarīyah and Dervish Piety before Jamāl Al-Dīn

What was the historical relation between the pre-thirteenth-century Qalandar and the new renunciation of the Later Middle Period? The

most obvious connection is, of course, the use of the name Qalandar to designate the followers of Jamāl al-Dīn. It is not known how or exactly when the name came to be given to these dervishes. Certainly, they referred to themselves as Qalandars by the time Khaṭīb Fārisī wrote his sacred biography of the master in the mid-eighth/fourteenth century, but it is impossible to tell if this practice dates back to the lifetime of Jamāl al-Dīn or if it was a later accretion. Whatever the truth about its timing, the application of the name Qalandar to the Jawlaqs is significant in that it indicates the existence of more than nominal continuity between the Qalandarī trend before Jamāl al-Dīn and the later Qalandarīyah. Even if the first generation of Jamāl al-Dīn type Qalandars did not deliberately attempt to realize the older Qalandarī ideal in practice, there can be little doubt that in the long run this ideal came to inform the activity of the later Qalandarīyah. Otherwise, it would be rather difficult to account for the appearance of the somewhat this-worldly Qalandars described by Sir Paul Rycaut, the mid-eleventh/seventeenth-century observer of Ottoman society:

> [The Qalandars] consume their time in eating and drinking; and to maintain this gluttony they will sell the stones of their girdles, their Ear-rings and Bracelets. When they come to the house of any rich man or person of Quality, they accommodate themselves to their humor, giving all the Family pleasant words, and chearful expressions to perswade them to a liberal and free entertainment. The tavern by them is accounted holy as the Mosch, and they believe they serve God as much with debauchery, or liberal use of his Creatures (as they call it) as others with severity and Mortification.[39]

The degree to which such observations by both external and internal observers of Islamic societies reflected reality is naturally open to question. Such reservations notwithstanding, it is clear that the anarchist individualism of the Qalandarī trend before Jamāl al-Dīn was perpetuated in the activities of anarchist dervish groups, especially through their emphasis on flagrant social deviance.

Renunciatory modes of piety had deep and firm roots in the historical development of Islamic religion. Powerful currents of other-worldly asceticism as an alternative way of life were present during the first three centuries of Islam in the Fertile Crescent and

throughout the third/ninth, fourth/tenth, and fifth/eleventh centurie in and around Iran. Such trends were eventually absorbed and domes ticated, though not completely nullified, by "inner-worldly" Sufism As a mystic mode of piety, however, Sufism also contained withi itself strong tendencies toward contemplative flight from the world As a result, it was the source of continual outbursts of anarchis individualism. The most prominent, and for our purposes the mos pertinent, of such manifestations of individualism was the Qalandar trend that developed primarily within the Persian cultural sphere. I was as a powerful revitalization and combination of this trend witl the powerful currents of other-worldly asceticism that dervish piet developed in the Fertile Crescent and Iran toward the end of th Early Middle Period and surfaced at the beginning of the seventh, thirteenth century.

CHAPTER FOUR

Ascetic Virtuosi

The emergence of new renunciation is most clearly visible in the careers of individual ascetics who played key roles in the formation of movements of socially deviant renunciation. The exemplary piety of ascetic virtuosi everywhere served as a catalyst for the construction of social collectivities that translated the ideals forged by the master renouncers into salvational social action on a large scale. It is therefore appropriate to open this reconstruction of the history of the new renunciation with a series of biographical portrayals of the most prominent dervish masters.

JAMĀL AL-DĪN SĀVĪ: THE MASTER OF THE QALANDARS

The Qalandars emerged as a new and distinct group of dervishes in Damascus and Damietta during the early decades of the seventh/thirteenth century. The formation of the Qalandarī path was concomitant with and centered around the activity of its master, Jamāl al-Dīn Sāvī (Sāvajī in some sources). His personal example played a decisive role in the emergence of the Qalandars, who preserved their separate identity through adherence to practices advocated by Jamāl al-Dīn or by his immediate circle of followers. The most characteristic of these practices, shaving the hair, beard, moustache, and eyebrows (sometimes eyelashes as well), which came to be known later as "four blows" (*chahār ẓarb*), certainly originated with Jamāl al-Dīn himself. Fortunately, it is possible to reconstruct the contours of his life and personality.

In 748/1347–48, Khaṭīb Fārisī (born 697/1297–98) of Shīrāz, a fifty-one-year old disciple of the Qalandarī master Muḥammad Bukhārā'ī in Damascus, completed a biography of Jamāl al-Dīn in Persian verse.[1] Written about a century after the death of the grand master, his hagiography reflects, at the very least, the message of Jamāl al-Dīn as it was understood by a particular group of Qalandars in that city in the mid-eighth/fourteenth century.

The central concern of Khaṭīb Fārisī is Jamāl al-Dīn's conversion from the Sufi to the Qalandarī path. At the beginning of the work, Jamāl al-Dīn is carefully presented as a very well-respected, though young, Sufi master. The author renders Jamāl al-Dīn a contemporary and a cherished companion of Bāyazīd Basṭāmī and contends that ʿUthmān Rūmī, unanimously depicted in other sources as the early Sufi master of Jamāl al-Dīn, was in fact his disciple.[2] Entrusted to Jamāl al-Dīn's care by Bāyazīd Basṭāmī, ʿUthmān Rūmī finds him delivering sermons on the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*, from a gold pulpit richly studded with jewels, to a large group of followers in a *khānqāh* in Iraq. His views on *taṣawwuf* appear to have been mainstream. In a lengthy section that reproduces material from Najam al-Dīn Rāzī Dāyah's (d. 654/1256) *Mirṣād al-ʿibād min al-mabda' ilā al-maʿād*, for instance, Jamāl al-Dīn elaborates on the real meanings of the terms "macrocosmos" and "microcosmos" in a totally predictable, conservative manner.[3] In the limited information that his biographer provides on this phase of Jamāl al-Dīn's career, it is possible to detect a special emphasis on the concept of detachment in his outlook.

Soon after ʿUthmān Rūmī joins him, Jamāl al-Dīn delivers an extended speech on the merits of traveling and, practicing what he has preached, begins to roam the land in the company of forty of his dervishes, including ʿUthmān Rūmī. These journeys, which last until the moment when he spots Jalāl Darguzīnī in the mausoleum of Zaynab (the daughter of the fifth Shīʿī leader Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn) in the Bāb al-Ṣaghīr cemetery of Damascus, prepare him for his conversion to the Qalandarī path. Darguzīnī, who is completely naked except for a few leaves covering his private parts, eats nothing but weeds, and remains silent and motionless in one place, makes a deep impression on Jamāl al-Dīn. He prays to God that he may be relieved of both worlds and that all the obstacles on his path may be cleared away. By divine intervention, all the hair on his head and body falls off. This is a sign that Jamāl al-Dīn's prayer is accepted and that he is

now "dead before his death." Thenceforth, Jamāl al-Dīn becomes a Qalandar, with the same outward appearance and habits as Jalāl Darguzīnī, whose bodily hair also disappears at Jamāl al-Dīn's intervention. Jamāl al-Dīn later verbalizes and justifies this experience with the *ḥadīth* "die before you die" (*mūtū qabla an tamūtū*): a Qalandar is one who frees himself from the two worlds through self-imposed death (*mawt-i irādī*) with the purpose of attaining continuous proximity to the Divine.[4] The peculiarly Qalandarī habits of going naked with only leaves to cover the loins, removing all bodily hair, and sitting motionless and speechless on graves without any sleep or food except wild weeds are all viewed as direct consequences of this "premortem" death.[5] The Qalandar looks and, so to speak, acts like a dead person. Thus, the Qalandarī practice of uttering four *takbīrs*, a deliberate reference to the funeral prayer, functions as a constant reminder of the Qalandar's real state: "dead to both worlds." In brief, the Qalandar rejects society altogether and severs himself from both the rights and duties of social life. He spurns all kinds of social intercourse like gainful employment, marriage, and even friendship and devotes himself solely to God in complete seclusion.

Khaṭīb Fārisī portrays the rest of Jamāl al-Dīn's career as a struggle to remain a recluse. Curiously, perhaps the most serious challenge to Jamāl al-Dīn in this respect is the emergence of a community of Qalandars around him based on his personal example. Initially consisting of Jamāl al-Dīn and three disciples (Jalāl Darguzīnī, Muḥammad Balkhī, and Abū Bakr Iṣfahānī, but not ʿUthmān Rūmī, who nonetheless acknowledges Jamāl al-Dīn's greatness), the core group is soon surrounded by a much larger circle of converts to the way of Qalandars. Recruitment of new members is not sought actively. The credit, or more properly blame, for propagating the example of Jamāl al-Dīn falls not on the master himself, but on his core disciples, especially Abū Bakr Iṣfahānī.[6] At first, Jamāl al-Dīn reluctantly acknowledges the necessity of leadership and to a certain extent even adapts his extreme eremiticism to collective life. For instance, he allows his disciples to eat food offerings brought by pious believers, though he himself refrains from touching the food of others. His institution of donning uncomfortable, heavy woolen garments (*jawlaq*) also appears to have been a concession in the direction of accepting increased contact with human society. In the long term, however, Jamāl al-Dīn's firm commitment to remain

detached from the two worlds weighs heavier than his sense of responsibility toward his followers as their master. Delegating his authority to his foremost disciple, he leaves Damascus in order to remain faithful to his erstwhile solitary mission and travels to Damietta, Egypt. In Damietta, he proves his holiness through a beard-producing miracle and spends six peaceful years there, refusing to accept any followers, including the magistrate of the town.[7] Upon his death, he is buried in the same town.

Khaṭīb Fārisī's account indicates clearly that the Qalandars of Damascus cherished Jamāl al-Dīn's world-rejecting eremiticism as a vibrant ideal roughly three generations after his activity in that city. The disciple/biographer recasts this ideal in the form of a spirited defense of "poverty" (*faqr*). The narrative proper itself starts with a section entitled "On the Merits of Poverty" (*dar ṣifat-i faẓīlat-i faqr*), and the same theme punctuates the whole text. The central messages delivered in this context are that the Prophet Muḥammad, the best of all creatures and the master of the two worlds, himself chose absolute poverty and that Jamāl al-Dīn is the king of poverty.[8] Although Khaṭīb Fārisī does not give specific information on the Qalandarī movement of his own time, all the signs indicate that his fellow dervishes not only upheld but also honored this ideal of poverty ascribed to Jamāl al-Dīn.

It is possible to reconstitute the historical core of Jamāl al-Dīn's life on the basis of numerous accounts in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish sources. Jamāl al-Dīn was born toward the end of the sixth/twelfth century, probably in the Iranian town of Sāvah, situated just southwest of present-day Tehran. Although next to nothing is known of his youth, there is some evidence that he may have studied to become a religious scholar. According to an oral tradition kept alive in the Chishtī circles of Delhi during the eighth/fourteenth century, for instance, Jamāl al-Dīn was known as the "walking library," since he issued legal opinions without consulting any books.[9] Since this tradition was transmitted by a compiler who was himself a Qalandar with scholarly pretensions, its reliability is questionable.[10] It may nevertheless contain a kernel of truth since Jamāl al-Dīn is reported in Mamlūk sources to have studied the Qur'ān as well as religious sciences and to have written at least a partial Qur'ānic exegesis.[11] As a young man, he traveled to Damascus to continue his studies, where he became affiliated with the hospice of 'Uthmān Rūmī located at

the foot of the Qāsiyūn mountain to the northwest of the city.[12] ʿUthmān Rūmī was almost certainly the father of Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad Rūmī, the director of the Rūmīyah hospice at Qāsiyūn, who died in 684/1285. We know next to nothing about the father, who, according to one contemporary source, was celebrated for his strict conformity to the *sunnah*.[13] The son is described in his brief obituary notice as "incredibly generous and modest, much given to *samāʿ*."[14]

Jamāl al-Dīn's involvement with respectable Sufism as evidenced by his allegiance to ʿUthmān Rūmī led to a dramatic conversion to extreme asceticism through his encounter with the remarkable young ascetic Jalāl Darguzīnī.[15] Darguzīnī, an epitome of detachment and solitude, wrought a deep transformation in Jamāl al-Dīn's religiosity. Overcome by an ascetic mood, Jamāl al-Dīn shaved his face and head and began to spend his time sitting motionless on graves with his face turned in the direction of Mecca, the *qiblah*, speechless and with grass as his only food.[16] Another tradition of reports would have it that Jamāl al-Dīn's turn to ascetic practices was facilitated by his scrupulous endeavor, in a way reminiscent of one part of the Qurʾānic story of Yūsuf (the Qurʾān, 12:21–35), to preserve his chastity. According to this tradition, which provides an alternative explanation for Jamāl al-Dīn's practice of shaving his beard and eyebrows, Jamāl al-Dīn was constantly harassed by a certain woman, who had fallen in love with him on account of the beauty of his face and figure. Although initially unsuccessful in her attempts to seduce Jamāl al-Dīn, the woman finally managed to trick him into entering her house. Jamāl al-Dīn had no escape and, in a final effort to save himself, shaved his beard and eyebrows with a razor that he happened to have. The woman, taken aback and disgusted, rebuked him severely and had him thrown out of her house. Having thus overcome temptation through shaving, Jamāl al-Dīn thereafter made it his habit to keep his face clean-shaven at all times.[17] Whatever its truth content, this "fantastic" explanation for the origin of Jamāl al-Dīn's practice of shaving can safely be rejected as being a generic feature of hagiography.[18]

The story of the rest of Jamāl al-Dīn's career is in conformity with information found in his sacred biography. His solitude disturbed by the growing number of followers, Jamāl al-Dīn decided to leave the group and travel to a place where he was totally unknown. Delegating

his authority to his foremost disciple, Muḥammad al-Balkhī, he left Damascus and spent the last years of his life in carefully preserved social isolation in a cemetery in Damietta, where a hospice (*zāwiyah*) was later built around his tomb.[19]

Jamāl al-Dīn was first and foremost an uncompromising renouncer. He was stringent in his rejection of this world, as evidenced by his penchant for residing in cemeteries, in both Damascus and Damietta, as well as by the extreme care he took to dissociate himself from all established patterns of social life through such practices as shaving his head and all facial hair, donning woolen sacks, and refusing to work for sustenance. Presumably, he was also celibate. Though not totally averse to having disciples and not oblivious of their needs, he shunned all kinds of attention and preferred to lead the life of a complete recluse. It is not possible to determine the nature of his attitude toward the religious law. While there is no sign that he deliberately eschewed prescribed religious observances or clearly violated legal prohibitions, reports on his life leave the impression that conformity to the *sharī'ah* was not a major issue in his career. The unmistakable message of his personal example was world-rejecting eremiticism, and the power and attraction of the ascetic mode of piety this message embodied was instrumental in the formation of the Qalandarī path.

QUṬB AL-DĪN ḤAYDAR: THE MASTER OF THE ḤAYDARĪS

The Ḥaydarī dervish, with his distinct penchant for iron collars, bracelets, belts, anklets, and rings suspended from his ears and his genitals, became a familiar sight in many parts of Islamdom from the beginning of the seventh/thirteenth century onward. The eponymous master of this most peculiar group of mendicant dervishes was a certain Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar. Although the historical life of this key ascetic figure is clouded in legend, his religious predilections are still evident in the reports of his miraculous feats.

Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar lived in and around the town Zāvah in Khorasan, present-day Turbat-i Ḥaydarīyah in northeast Iran.[20] Unlike his followers, he was not much taken with the itinerant life and spent his life in solitude on a mountain near Zāvah.[21] His tomb still stands today in that location.[22] The long career of this figure spanned the entire sixth/twelfth century and came to an end around 617/1200,

when Zāvah was destroyed by the Mongols.[23] He was apparently of royal Turkish descent and might have had a particular appeal among Turkish speakers.[24] Beyond these externalities, few facts of Quṭb al-Dīn's biography can be ascertained.[25] He probably went through a Sufi phase early in life. In some sources he is portrayed as a one-time disciple of either Shaykh Luqmān, who was active in the town of Sarakhs close to Zāvah, or the famous Turkish Sufi Aḥmed Yesevī (d. 562/1166) of Turkistan.[26] It is not possible to confirm the existence of such allegiances. His association with Aḥmed Yesevī, reported only in late sources and conspicuously absent from the Yesevī tradition itself, is doubtful, especially if one keeps in mind the *sharī'ah*-bound nature of Yesevī's mysticism, in which there would be little room for the world-denying asceticism of Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar. That Quṭb al-Dīn indeed had some Sufi connections, however, is suggested by a report that he was close to Shāh-i Sanjān (d. 597/1200–1201 or 599/1202–3), a disciple of Quṭb al-Dīn Mawdūd-i Chishtī (d. 527/1132–33), who may have composed a quatrain (*rubā'ī*) for Quṭb al-Dīn.[27] In this same vein, some claim that Ibrāhīm Isḥāq 'Aṭṭār Kadkanī, the father of the celebrated poet Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, was a follower of Quṭb al-Dīn and that Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār himself, who had received the blessing of Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar as a child, dedicated one of his first works, *Ḥaydarnāmah*, to the ascetic master. While the celebrated poet was indeed born in Kadkan, a town not far from Zāvah, it is not possible to confirm the details of this claim, especially since such a *Ḥaydarnāmah* is not extant.[28]

The religious profile of the Ḥaydarī master can be drawn in broad strokes. It is clear that he abandoned civilized life in favor of a solitary existence in the wilderness. An account of his conversion to asceticism is found in the *Khayr al-majālis* (comp. after 754/1353), where the compiler Ḥamīd Qalandar records a story about Ḥaydar that he heard from Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Chirāgh-i Dihlī (d. 757/1356). While still a young boy, Ḥaydar ascended a mountain in a trance and failed to return. After many years, he was finally spotted one day by a traveler, clothed in a dress made of leaves and busy milking a female gazelle. Informed of his son's survival by the traveler, Ḥaydar's father searched for him on the mountain without success. In despair, he asked Shaykh Luqmān for his help. Indeed, when Luqmān himself came to the foot of the mountain, Ḥaydar appeared of his own accord to see the shaykh. When the shaykh

advised him to go to the city and spend his time inviting people to the path of God, Ḥaydar declared that it was no longer possible for him to abandon the wilderness, but he agreed to see his parents every day if they came and settled at the foot of the mountain. The place where Ḥaydar's parents settled later grew into the village of Zāvah.[29]

Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar's merger with nature was then remarkably complete. He apparently used only leaves to cover his body and relied solely on nature for his sustenance. It is, therefore, not strange to see his name associated with the discovery of the intoxicating effects of cannabis leaves.[30] Even more than his uncompromising withdrawal from human culture and his discovery of hashish, however, Quṭb al-Dīn's fame and influence on others rested on his dramatic attempts to control his animal soul (*nafs*). The miraculous feats most celebrated by posterity were his immersion in ice water during winter and entering fire in the summer.[31] He was also well known for handling molten iron "like mere wax" in order to fashion collars and bracelets.[32] Combined with the well-attested Ḥaydarī habit of wearing iron rings around the genitals, which in all likelihood derived from Quṭb al-Dīn's own example, these miracle stories suggest that a significant portion of Quṭb al-Dīn's extreme asceticism was occasioned by his attempt to tame his sexuality. Continence in particular and austere self-denial in general, conspicuously represented by heavy iron equipment, was the special legacy of Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar to his followers.

OTMAN BABA: THE MASTER OF THE ABDĀLS OF RŪM

Unlike Jamāl al-Dīn Sāvī and Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar, the founding fathers of the Qalandars and the Ḥaydarīs, Otman Baba cannot be considered the founder of the Abdāls of Rūm. This group had a checkered history that can be traced back to the seventh/thirteenth century. It was only during the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century, however, that the Abdāls of Rūm emerged as a distinct dervish band with peculiar beliefs and practices. Otman Baba was without doubt the key player in the Abdāl drama of this period.

Otman Baba is known basically through his hagiography, which was written by one of his followers called Küçük Abdāl in 888/1483, five years after his master's death.[33] According to this work, Otman Baba's real name was Ḥüsām Şāh. He apparently came to Asia Minor from Khorasan during or soon after Temür's (r. 771–807/1370–1405)

campaign into that peninsula, although even his close disciples did not know his true origins. A complete ascetic and ecstatic practicing the *chahār ẓarb*, he mostly wandered about the mountains and high plateaus of northwest Asia Minor and the Balkans, accompanied by a few hundred dervishes. The date of his death is given as 883/1478–79; as he is said to have been born in 780/1378–79, he must have lived to be a centenarian.[34]

Otman Baba's religious views were most intriguing. In keeping with a well-attested Sufi tradition, he believed that sainthood (*walāyah*) was simultaneously the inner dimension and the guarantor of prophecy (*nubūwah*).[35] As Otman Baba expressed it, sainthood was the "shepherd" of prophecy. Since sainthood served to perpetuate and confirm the validity of prophecy, its denial amounted to a declaration of unbelief.[36] Otman Baba apparently rested these views on a peculiar interpretation of the famous Qur'ānic verse of the primordial covenant (7:172). God extracted the future humanity from the loins of Adam and asked them, "Am I not your Lord?" Those who answered in the affirmative, Otman Baba asserted, were the believers and the true unitarians, those who answered negatively were the unbelievers, and those who did not respond at all were the saints, presumably because they were so secure in their relationship to God that they had no need of a covenant.[37]

After the termination of the cycle of prophecy in the figure of Muḥammad, the cycle of sainthood was initiated by his son-in-law and cousin ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. The saintly institution was thereafter preserved by a network of saints. Otman Baba divided saints into the two broad categories of "insane" (*dīwānah*) and "licit" (*mashrūʿ*), according to whether the elements dominant in their nature were fire and air or water and earth. While both of these two kinds were acceptable, the "insane" saints were clearly superior to those bound by the *sharīʿah*. The excesses of the former, the divinely attracted (*majdhūb*) saints, were legally permitted to them.[38]

Otman Baba also insisted that the true saints were hidden from humanity and cited the reputed extra-Qur'ānic divine saying "My friends are under My tents [or My cloak]; no one knows them except Me" as confirmation of this view.[39] Consequently, he was extremely critical of all Sufi masters who claimed exclusive rights to the instruction and guidance of novices. He alleged that the hidden agenda of the "people of hospices," as he called the Sufi masters, was

nothing more than the accumulation of worldly goods. He himself was completely averse to owning property and consistently rejected gifts of any kind, especially money, which he likened to feces. Absolute poverty was the only social condition conducive to religious salvation.[40]

Otman Baba's own religious agenda seems to have been twofold. On one hand, much of his saintly activity was directed toward open and radical criticism of "people of hospices." In general, he did not venerate any saint of his time or of the past, with the exception of Sulṭān Şücāʿ and Ḥācī Bektāş.[41] It is ironic, therefore, that Bektāşīs in particular were treated with contempt by Otman Baba. Long sections of Otman Baba's sacred biography are devoted to vehement criticism of a certain Mü'min Derviş and the latter's master Bāyezīd Baba, both "hospice saints" who apparently were Bektāşīs or at least held Ḥācī Bektāş in high esteem. More specifically, on one occasion in Istanbul, Otman Baba intimidated the Bektāşī master Maḥmūd Çelebi to such an extent that the latter ended up seeking refuge from him in a nearby Edhemī hospice.[42]

On the other hand, Otman Baba put into practice in his own career a vision of the doctrine of the unity of being whereby he thought God to be manifest in everything and particularly in every human being. In keeping with this view, he claimed to be in reality identical with Muḥammad, ʿĪsā, and Mūsā (at times also Ādam) or even with the Deity himself. In the same vein, he drank used bath water and declared that there were no impure objects, since all things equally reflected God.[43] Presumably, this immanentist view formed the basis of his own claim to sainthood, though it is not clear if he actually considered himself to be one of the hidden saints or, indeed, the "Pole" of the universe.

Otman Baba cultivated a special relationship with the Ottoman sultan Meḥmed II (2d r. 855–86/1451–81). He predicted Meḥmed II's rise to power while the latter was still a prince and later warned the sultan against his unsuccessful campaign to capture Belgrade. His aim in his dealings with the sultan was the demonstration of his superiority, and, still according to his biographer Küçük Abdāl, Meḥmed II actually admitted that the "real" sultan was Otman Baba.[44]

The most prominent feature of Otman Baba's renunciation was its social activism. In contradistinction to Jamāl al-Dīn Sāvī, who tar-

geted the religious consciences of Muslim individuals as his audience by confining himself to cemeteries, and in even greater contrast to Qutb al-Dīn Ḥaydar, who attempted to avoid human audiences altogether by disappearing into the wilderness, Otman Baba aimed his rejectionist agenda against institutions, primarily Sufi operations, but also those of the political and non-Sufi religious elites.

1. Qalandar. From Nicolas de Nicolay Daulphinoys, *The Navigations, Peregrinations, and Voyages, Made into Turkie by Nicholas Nicholay Daulphinois*, trans. T. Washington the Younger, 105 verso.

2. Abdâl-i Rūm. From Nicolas de Nicolay Daulphinoys, *The Nauigations, Peregrinations, and Voyages, Made into Turkie by Nicholas Nicholay Daulphinois*, trans. T. Washington the Younger, 103 recto.

3. Haydarī. From Nicolas de Nicolay Daulphinoys, *The Nauigations, Peregrinations, and Voyages, Made into Turkie by Nicholas Nicholay Daulphinois*, trans. T. Washington the Younger, 101 verso.

4. Jāmī. From Nicolas de Nicolay Daulphinoys, *The Nauigations, Peregrinations, and Voyages, Made into Turkie by Nicholas Nicholay Daulphinois*, trans. T. Washington the Younger, 100 verso.

5. Fakhr al-Dīn ʿIrāqī and the Qalandars on the way to India. From a manuscript of the *Majālis al-ʿushshāq*, dated 959/1552. By permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Ms. Ouseley Add. 24, fol. 79b).

6. Portrait of a Qalandar, Timurid, late 9th/15th century. By permission of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Cora Timken Burnett Collection, 57.51.30).

7. Three merry Qalandars, by Sultān Muhammad, Safavid, early 10th/16th century. By permission of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (the collected works of Hāfiz, fol. 135r).

CHAPTER FIVE

Dervish Groups in Full Bloom, 1200–1500

The exemplary piety of the ascetic virtuosi was perpetuated and spread throughout Islamdom through the activities of socially deviant dervish groups that transformed the renunciatory ideals of the masters into principles of religiously meaningful social action on a mass scale. Qalandars, Ḥaydarīs, and Abdāls of Rūm attempted to preserve and reproduce the peculiar modes of religiosity developed by or best represented in the lives of Jamāl al-Dīn Sāvī, Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar, and Otman Baba, respectively. The study of the history of these movements of renunciation is fraught with difficulties. The relevant historical evidence is widely scattered in various sources, somewhat thin, and at times imprecise. This should not be surprising. On one hand, the dervishes themselves were not likely to "document" their way of life in writing, since rejection of this-worldly learning was a logical item on their agenda. This did not prevent them from producing written testimonies of deviant renunciation, especially in the form of hagiographies of the ascetic masters. These accounts were apparently targeted for internal consumption within the dervish groups and did not have wider circulation. On the other hand, the fact that the dervishes negated society through flagrant social deviation ensured that they normally attracted the attention only of their detractors, who had reason to misrepresent the message of deviant renunciation. The dervishes were ignored by the rest of the cultural elite, except insofar as their actions fleetingly came within the ambit of scholarly and literary agendas of historians, biographers, religious reformers, and litterateurs.

Thus, while only short accounts on key figures of renunciation were incorporated into biographical literature and dervish groups were mentioned only in passing in historical chronicles and large literary compositions, self-appointed critics of deviant asceticism, such as Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb and Vāḥidī, provided longer and independent treatments of the subject. When combined with the internal accounts of the deviant dervishes themselves, all this material, fragmented and biased as it may be, allows us to reconstruct the contours of the movements of deviant renunciation in the Later Middle Period.

THE ARAB MIDDLE EAST

Damascus, the most prominent city of Syria, was the earliest center of new asceticism in Islamdom. After Jamāl al-Dīn Sāvī left the city to travel to Damietta, the leadership of the nascent community of Qalandars was assumed first by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Darguzīnī, then by Muḥammad al-Balkhī, the two foremost disciples of the master. The group was exiled from the city by al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt when he captured Damascus and became its ruler in 635/1238. This was apparently a short-lived exile for the Qalandars. They must have returned to the city soon thereafter, since al-Malik al-Ẓāhir (r. 658–76/1260–77) is known to have revered Muḥammad al-Balkhī, the leader of the Qalandars in Damascus during his reign. Muḥammad al-Balkhī stipulated the wearing of heavy *jawlaqs* for the Qalandars and, presumably during the rule of al-Ẓāhir, built a hospice for his dervishes at the expense of the public treasury. During a visit to Damascus, al-Ẓāhir bestowed a gift of one thousand silver coins (*dirhams*) and several rugs to the Qalandars, who hosted the sultan in their hospice. In spite of al-Balkhī's refusal to accept al-Ẓāhir's invitation to Egypt, al-Ẓāhir also arranged for the delivery of a yearly stipend of thirty sacks of wheat and a daily allowance of ten *dirhams* to the Qalandars.[1]

The Qalandars were not the only deviant dervishes in Damascus during al-Balkhī's time. The Ḥaydarīs entered the city in 655/1257. They wore loose robes open in the front (*farajīyah*), and tall hats (*tarṭūr*); they shaved their beards while they let their moustaches grow. This practice was reportedly after the example of their shaykh Ḥaydar, whose beard was shaven by his captors when he was a

prisoner in the hands of the Ismāʿīlīs. A hospice was constructed for them in the ʿAwnīyah quarter.[2]

In the same decade as the arrival of Ḥaydarīs in Damascus, a group of Qalandars were sighted in Ḥarrān, northeast of Aleppo. They presented themselves in 658/1259–60 to the Mongol Hülegü, who was accompanied by the renowned scholar Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274). Hülegü wanted to know who these people were. Naṣīr al-Dīn's concise and unequivocal answer, "[They are] the excess of this world," was sufficient for the Qalandars to be executed at Hülegü's orders.[3]

Ḥasan al-Jawālaqī al-Qalandarī, who earlier founded a hospice for Qalandars in Cairo, traveled to Damascus with Sultan Kitbughā (r. 694–96/1295–97) in 695/1295–96. Kitbughā there visited the Qalandars in the mountain of al-Mizzah, while Ḥasan organized a very large gathering (*waqt*) of dervishes in the hospice of al-Ḥarīrī, thanks to a gift of one thousand gold coins (*dīnār*) that he received from Kitbughā.[4] Ḥasan did not return to Egypt, but stayed in Damascus, where he died in 722/1322.[5] During the time of Khaṭīb Fārisī (ca. 740–50/1340–50), there was still a sizable group of Qalandars in Damascus headed by Muḥammad Bukhārāʾī. The original hospice of the Qalandars continued to function and was in existence during the early sixteenth century.[6]

The Qalandars spread to other cities in the Arab Near East soon after their emergence in Damascus. In the Egyptian town of Damietta, there was a band of Qalandars in the hospice of Jamāl al-Dīn, headed by a certain al-Shaykh Fatḥ al-Takrūrī at the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah's visit to that town in 725/1325.[7] Another Qalandarī hospice in Egypt was in Cairo. The founder of this institution was Ḥasan al-Jawālaqī al-Qalandarī. Ḥasan learned the ways of Qalandars from Iranian shaykhs (*fuqarāʾ al-ʿajam*) and settled in Cairo shortly before or during the reign of Kitbughā. He soon became a celebrity, grew rich, and founded a *zāwiyah* outside Bāb al-Manṣūr in the direction of "tombs and graveyards." This hospice became a center for Qalandars in Cairo, where there were always large numbers of Qalandars under the guidance of a master. Almost half a century later, in 761/1359–60, al-Malik al-Nāṣir al-Ḥasan (2d r. 755–62/1354–61) issued a decree in which he forbade the Qalandars to shave and to dress in the manner of Iranians and magi (*al-majūs wa-al-ʿāǰim*). It was delivered

in person to the master of the Qalandars in Cairo, whose blessings, however, the sultan did not neglect to solicit.[8]

In Jerusalem, an old church known as Dayr al-Akhmar in the middle of the Māmilā cemetery was converted into a Qalandarī hospice toward the end of the eighth/fourteenth century by a Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Qalandarī. Ibrāhīm won the admiration of a woman named Tonṣuq bint ʿAbd Allāh al-Muẓaffarīyah, who had a mausoleum (*qubbah*) built for him next to the hospice in 794/1391–92. The hospice was inhabited by a group of Qalandars. It collapsed in 893/1487–88 and was still in ruins during the early tenth/sixteenth century.[9]

Evidence of a different kind pointing to the prominence of Qalandars in the Fertile Crescent during the first half of the seventh/thirteenth century is provided by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jawbarī, who attributes the origin of the "reprehensible innovation" (*bidʿah*) of shaving off the beard to them and informs his readers that these dervishes neither fast nor pray.[10] Al-Jawbarī also reports on Ḥaydarīs. These dervishes shaved their beards and were accustomed to handling red-hot iron. They pierced their genitals in order to suspend iron rings on them. They were, as al-Jawbarī would have it, mere impostors, and not one of them could live a single day without consuming hashish.[11] The puritan Ibn Taymīyah (d. 728/1328) also found occasion to condemn the Qalandars. He denounced them as unbelievers who shaved their beards, neglected to pray and fast, and violated Qurʾānic prohibitions. They believed that the Prophet Muḥammad had given some grapes to their master "Qalandar," who spoke in Persian.[12] In addition, Taqī al-Dīn ibn al-Maghribī of Baghdad (d. 684/1285–86) composed a short Qalandarī poem.[13] The image of the Qalandar in this composition is that of a dissolute hedonist who secures a living through fraudulent practices. His head is shaven, and, if not simply naked, he wears either a felt cloak (*dalq/dalaq*) or a shirt of lamb's wool.[14] He consumes marijuana juice (*bang*) and does not touch wine because of its cost. He begs in Persian. A disciple of Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar is reported to have visited the *khānqāh* of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234) in Baghdad.[15] Qalandars also appear in the *Thousand and One Nights* in the form of three one-eyed dervishes with shaven heads, which is a clear sign of their reputation in the Arab lands.[16]

The formation of the Qalandarīyah occurred, then, in the predom-

inantly Arab regions of the Fertile Crescent and in Egypt during the first half of the seventh/thirteenth century. Ethnically, however, the leaders—and one suspects the rank and file—of the movement at this stage were not Arabs but mostly Iranians. The overwhelmingly Iranian nature of the group is demonstrated in the first instance by the names of the Qalandars attested in the sources. Jamāl al-Dīn and his first "disciple" Jalāl were themselves Iranians, from Sāvah and Darguzīn, respectively. His other major disciples were also from Iran and Asia Minor, though different names are given for them in our sources (Muḥammad Balkhī, Muḥammad Kurdī, Shams Kurdī, Abū Bakr Iṣfahānī, Abū Bakr Niksārī). In the Syrian and Egyptian cultural spheres, the Qalandarīyah appears to have continued throughout the seventh–eighth/thirteenth–fourteenth centuries mostly as an Iranian group. Ḥasan al-Jawālaqī, possibly an Arab recruit, is reported to have learned the ways of Qalandars from Iranian masters. Later, the Qalandars were forbidden to shave and dress in the manner of Iranians. Further evidence supplied by the poet Taqī al-Dīn ibn al-Maghribī and Ibn Taymīyah suggests that the Qalandars normally spoke Persian. Indeed, Jamāl al-Dīn's biography was written in Persian by the Shīrāzī Khaṭīb Fārisī under the direction of the Iranian leader of the Damascus Qalandars, Muḥammad Bukhārā'ī. It is likely, therefore, that among Arabic speakers the Qalandarīyah and possibly also the Ḥaydarīyah, on which we have fewer details, were viewed as foreign, predominantly Iranian, phenomena.

Significantly, there were in the Arab Near East indigenous dervish movements that approximated socially deviant renunciation. The most prominent of these in Syria, Iraq, and Egypt was the Rifā'īyah. Inspired by the activity of their eponymous master Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī (d. 578/1183), the Rifā'ī dervishes challenged established modes of piety through practices such as walking on fire, eating snakes, and piercing the body with swords or long and sharp iron rods. The cultivation of thaumaturgical practices was clearly a productive move that led to the rapid spread of Rifā'īyah throughout the region and beyond in a short time and produced related localized versions like the Ḥarīrīyah, the path of Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Ḥarīrī (d. 645/1247–48), in Damascus and the Badawīyah, the path of Aḥmad al-Badawī (d. 675/1276), in Tanta, Egypt.[17] The spread of this complex movement in the region was concomitant with the development of renunciatory dervish piety in the same area, and to judge by a number of

common practices (Ḥaydarīs, like Rifāʿīs, danced on fire and Rifāʿīs, like Ḥaydarīs, wore iron collars), there was a certain degree of interaction among these different dervish groups. Although the early history of the Rifāʿīyah and its presumed offshoots has not been studied in detail, it is clear that in the long run these movements distinguished themselves through emphasis on thaumaturgy rather than antinomian rejection of society. Unlike deviant renouncers, the Rifāʿīs seem to have deviated from social convention only during miracle-working seances; at other times they were "normal" members of society who functioned within the web of everyday social relations. This impressionistic view, however, obviously needs to be tested through close scrutiny of the historical evidence.[18]

IRAN

Both Qalandars and Ḥaydarīs were active in Iran from the beginning of the seventh/thirteenth century, though the relevant evidence is rather scanty, possibly due to the paucity of source materials on Iran for this period.[19]

The anonymous biography of the Persian poet Fakhr al-Dīn ʿIrāqī (d. 688/1289) includes some information on the Qalandars. When ʿIrāqī was about seventeen years of age (ca. 627/1229–30, about a decade after the destruction of his hometown Hamadān by Mongols in 618/1221), a group of Qalandars appeared in Hamadān. ʿIrāqī soon became enamored of a youth who belonged to this group. Unable to separate from his beloved, he followed the Qalandars to Iṣfahān, where he shaved his beard and became one of them on their wanderings. Together they traveled as far as Delhi and Multān in India and visited, presumably among other shaykhs, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakarīyāʾ, who is said to have welcomed them. After some further adventures during which ʿIrāqī lost track of all but one of his companions because of a storm, the young poet decided to become a disciple of Bahāʾ al-Dīn and settled in Multān.[20]

On a different note, Shams Tabrīzī, one of the many famous contemporaries of ʿIrāqī, is said to have brought about the death of a reckless Qalandar who refused to make room for him during *samāʿ* in a gathering that took place in ʿIrāq-i ʿAjam.[21] Abū al-Faḍl al-Ḥasan al-ʿUqbarī heard a story about the origins of hashish from a

Qalandarī shaykh called Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī while he was in Tustar in 658/1260.[22]

Somewhat later, we hear that a group of Qalandars gathered around Bābī Yaʿqūbiyān, the master of Ḥasan (or Īshān) Mengli who exercised some influence on the Ilkhānid ruler Aḥmad Tegüder (680–83/1282–84).[23] Evidently, at around the same time, there were Qalandars in Shīrvān and Gīlān. Shaykh Ibrāhīm Gīlānī (d. 700/1301), the master of the more famous Ṣafī al-Dīn Ardabīlī (d. 735/1334), warned his followers against them. More concretely, certain Qalandars attempted to kill Zāhid Gīlānī while he was in Shīrvān. Indeed, the would-be assassins were later punished at the orders of the Turkish governor of the region; the ears and noses of many were chopped off, while one was summarily executed.[24]

The presence of Qalandars is recorded in the southwest Iranian town of Shar-i Zūr, situated halfway between Mawṣil and Hamadān, before the end of the seventh/thirteenth century. Shaykh Qāẓī Ẓāhir al-Dīn Muḥammad, a disciple of the well-known Sufi Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī (d. 635/1237–38), retired to a mosque in a village close to Shar-i Zūr in order to spend the night. After nightfall, about ten Jawlaqs came into the mosque and locked the door behind them. Thinking that they were alone—Ẓāhir al-Dīn held his breath and carefully hid—they first had something to eat, then prepared and consumed a hemp-drink and performed a *samāʿ*. Following this, they engaged in other activities that Ẓāhir al-Dīn did not deem fit to describe. The fearful Qāẓī fled as soon as the Jawlaqs fell asleep.[25]

During the seventh/thirteenth century, the Ḥaydarīs were also active in Iran. It is most likely that there was a nascent community of dervishes around Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar during his lifetime. The names of two direct disciples of Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar, Abū Khālid and Ḥājjī Mubārak, are recorded in the sources.[26] The reports of al-Qazwīnī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, and Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī establish that there was a group of followers in Zāvah within about half a century of Quṭb al-Dīn's death, and the sources of the early seventh/thirteenth century are already familiar with the sight of a typical Ḥaydarī dervish, wearing iron collars, rings, and bracelets. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, who visited Zāvah sometime between 732/1331–32 and 734/1333–34, comments that the Ḥaydarī dervishes who wear iron rings on both their ears and genitals as well as collars and bracelets are the followers of Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar.[27] The presence of Ḥaydarīs in the area around Zāvah is

attested by the appearance of a Ḥaydarī dervish in a short work that the Persian poet Pūr-i Bahā (d. 685/1286–87) composed in 667/1269. This dervish lived in a village of the district of Khvāf immediately southeast of Zāvah. He had a shaven chin, wore a ring on his penis, and had in his company a young, beardless boy.[28] The ethnic origins of these early followers are obscure, though Quṭb al-Dīn's possible Turkishness seems to have had its effect on Ḥaydarī recruitment, if al-Qazwīnī's observations reflect a more general trend. Quṭb al-Dīn's popularity does not seem to have been restricted to a particular social group, since he is said to have been cherished equally by slaves and by rulers.[29]

Although it is more difficult to trace Qalandars and Ḥaydarīs in Iran throughout the following two centuries when the region was politically divided among Muẓaffarids, Jalāyirids, Tīmūrids, Ḳaraḳoyunlus, and Aḳḳoyunlus, this does not indicate their total disappearance from Iran. The *zāwiyah* of Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar apparently continued to be an active Ḥaydarī center. A certain Bābā Resūl is reported to have joined the "order" and spent months and years at this *zāwiyah* during Temür's time (r. 771–807/1370–1405).[30] Other evidence points to the existence of Ḥaydarīs in Tabrīz during the time of Ḳaraḳoyunlu Ḳara Yūsuf (r. 791–823/1389–1420, with a long interregnum due to the Tīmūrid invasion) and his son İskender (r. 823–41/1420–38). İbn al-Karbalā'ī and Nūr Allāh Shushtarī, the principal sources on the subject, do not give any description of these Ḥaydarīs. There is the tantalizing possibility that these reports might be on an altogether new Ḥaydarī movement under the leadership of a certain Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar Tūnī, quite distinct from any preceding Ḥaydarī groups.[31] The same ambiguity, though to a lesser extent, also persists in a letter that Aḳḳoyunlu Uzun Ḥasan (r. 857–82/1453–78) wrote to Şehzāde Bāyezīd (who acceded to the Ottoman throne in 886/1481 as Bāyezīd II) after his victory of 872/1467 over Ḳaraḳoyunlu Cihānşāh and his subsequent capture of Tabrīz. Uzun Ḥasan's statement that he suppressed heretic groups such as Qalandarīs and Ḥaydarīs is devoid of detail and leaves one in doubt as to the identity of these Ḥaydarīs.[32]

The Qalandars too continued to exist in this period. A certain Zangī-i ʿAjam-i Qalandarī (d. 806/1403–4), for example, possessed a lodge in Kirmān and may have had a group of followers in this city.[33] In the Tīmūrid domains in eastern Iran, a single Qalandar with his

beard shaven and dressed in a single piece of felt without a shirt or underwear is reported in the ninth/fifteenth century.[34] At the end of the same century, Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳara (r. 875–912/1470–1506) wrote a letter to the magistrate of Khvāf and Bākharz, ordering him to put an end to the innovation (*bidʿah*) of the fourfold shave (*chahār ẓarb*) that had become popular among some young people and the Qalandars.[35] In addition, Jāmī (817–98/1414–92) includes a discussion of Qalandars in his *Nafaḥāt al-uns*.[36] There are continued reports on Qalandars in Iran well into the Ṣafavid period.[37]

INDIA

In comparison with Iran, attestations of Qalandars and Ḥaydarīs in Muslim India of the seventh–eighth/thirteenth–fourteenth centuries are at once more numerous and more informative. The appearance of Qalandars in India is associated with the figures of Shaykh ʿUṣmān Marandī (better known as Laʿl Shāhbāz Qalandar), Shāh Khiẓr Rūmī, and Bū ʿAlī Qalandar of Pānipat. ʿUṣmān Marandī (d. 673/1274) was a prominent disciple of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakarīyāʾ who came to be known as "Ruby" (Laʿl) because of his habit of dressing in red, while the additional title "Royal Falcon" (Shāhbāz) was conferred upon him by his shaykh. Several poetic compositions are attributed to him. Upon his death, he was buried in his native Sihvan in Sind, where his tomb grew to be a famous pilgrimage center.[38] Of Shāh Khiẓr Rūmī, it is only possible to assert that he was in Delhi during the lifetime of the Chistī master Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (d. 633/1235) and had some affiliation with this shaykh. He apparently met his death in his native Asia Minor.[39] Bū ʿAlī of Pānipat probably lived somewhat later than either Laʿl Shāhbāz or Shāh Khiẓr, if one accepts as genuine the report of the date of his death as 724/1324. He is alleged to have been in contact with shaykhs Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār and Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ (d. 726/1325), though these should be viewed as later legends built around Bū ʿAlī, since Quṭb al-Dīn lived much earlier than Bū ʿAlī, and the Chistī sources of the period about Niẓām al-Dīn do not contain any references to the shaykh of Pānipat. He established a *khānqāh* in his native Pānipat, which later became a pilgrimage center for Qalandars and related groups.[40]

Other than these well-known figures, the presence of anonymous Qalandars in Muslim India of the seventh/thirteenth century is at-

tested by several anecdotes found in Sufi literature as well as in historical chronicles. The *khānqāhs* of the Suhrawardī Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyā' (d. 666/1267–68) in Multān and of the Chishtī Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar (d. 664/1265) in Ajodhan were at times visited by Qalandars who, traveling alone or in groups, did not refrain from engaging in provocative, if not outright hostile, behavior toward settled Sufis.[41] Somewhat later, a certain Qalandar known as Sulṭān Darvīsh and his companions seem to have enjoyed the patronage of Ṭughril, the rebel governor of Bengal, who gave the Qalandars three *mans* of gold from which to fashion their distinctive metal paraphernalia. These Qalandars were executed along with other followers of Ṭughril by Sulṭān Balban (r. 664–86/1266–87) upon his suppression of the revolt in 677–78/1279.[42] Around the turn of the seventh/thirteenth century and in the following decades, Qalandars frequented the *khānqāhs* of the Chishtī masters Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' and Naṣīr al-Dīn Chirāgh-i Dihlī in Delhi.[43] Groups of Qalandars wandering in the countryside as well as in cities continued to be a familiar sight in eighth/fourteenth-century Muslim India, to judge, for instance, by frequent warnings of Shaykh Muḥammad Gīsū'darāz against association with Qalandars.[44]

The spread of Ḥaydarīs into India is also well attested. During the reign of Jalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh (689–95/1290–96), there was a prominent Ḥaydarī shaykh by the name of Abū Bakr Ṭūsī Ḥaydarī in Delhi. One of his dervishes called Baḥrī was involved in the murder of Sīdī Muwallih in the presence of the sultan. Abū Bakr had a *khānqāh* on the bank of the Jamnah river and is said to have enjoyed the company of many established Sufi shaykhs as well as respected scholars.[45] Ibn Baṭṭūṭah came across Ḥaydarīs in India on two occasions. The first was in the vicinity of Amroha in northern India, where Ibn Baṭṭūṭah and his company spent a night with a group of Ḥaydarī dervishes headed by a black shaykh. Having built a fire with some wood that the company of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah procured for them, the Ḥaydarīs danced on the burning wood until the fire died out. The famous traveler was amazed to see that a shirt that he had given to their leader before he started to dance on the fire was returned to him intact; the fire had left no traces on the fabric. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah met another group of Ḥaydarīs at Ghogah in Malabar, also headed by a shaykh.[46]

It appears that the example of the Qalandars and the Ḥaydarīs was

instrumental in the formation of at least two separate indigenous deviant dervish groups in India during the ninth/fifteenth century: Madārīs and Jalālīs. The Madārī movement crystallized around the activities of Badīʿ al-Dīn Quṭb al-Madār (d. ca. 844/1440), one of the most celebrated saintly figures of Muslim India. His dervishes were mendicants who refused all clothing and rubbed their naked bodies with ashes. They had long matted hair, wound iron chains around their heads and necks, wore black turbans, and carried black banners. They were notorious for their open rejection of religious observances as well as for their excessive consumption of hemp. The Madārīs spread to all regions of northern India from Sind to Bengal, as well as to Kashmir and Nepal.[47] The Jalālīs, for their part, professed allegiance to the renowned saint of Uch in Sind, Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Bukhārī, known as Makhdūm-i Jahāniyān Jahāngasht (707–85/1308–84). They closely resembled the Madārīs in appearance, but distinguished themselves by practicing the *chahār ẓarb* (shaving the head, beard, moustache, and eyebrows). In spite of the documented Sunnism of Makhdūm-i Jahāniyān, this particular group of his followers were fervent Shīʿīs, who also adopted strange practices such as eating snakes and scorpions.[48] The history of the particularly Indian movements of the Madārīs and the Jalālīs is obscure, and the nature of the interaction among all the socially deviant renouncers of Muslim India, not to say anything about their Hindu counterparts, is extremely difficult to establish. It is clear, however, that by the end of the ninth/fifteenth century, rejection of society through blatant social deviance had become a prominent religious option in Indian societies.

ASIA MINOR

As in other regions of the Islamic world, the Qalandars and the Ḥaydarīs found their way into Asia Minor within decades of their emergence around the beginning of the seventh/thirteenth century. There may have been Qalandars in Antalya and even Constantinople already during Jamāl al-Dīn's lifetime.[49] More definite is the presence of a disciple of Jamāl al-Dīn by the name of Abū Bakr Niksārī in Konya a few decades later. Niksārī was alive and well known in that city at the time of the death of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (672/1273). One of the seven bulls in the funerary procession of Rūmī was later sent to

the hospice (*langar*) of "the divine gnostic Shaykh Abū Bakr Jawlaqī Niksārī" as a present.[50] Rūmī himself was familiar with the Qalandars and on one occasion told his barber that he was envious of them because they had no beard at all.[51] The famous Sufi poet also knew and conversed with Ḥājjī Mubārak Ḥaydarī, a direct disciple of Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar, who lived in Konya and greatly venerated Rūmī.[52]

Outside Konya, the Qalandars were probably present in many other spots in Asia Minor. The famous Ḥācī Bektāş (possibly d. 669/1270–71), for instance, is said to have welcomed a group of Qalandars from Khorasan to his dwelling in Sulucakarahöyük, Kırşehir.[53] The *Fusṭāṭ al-ʿadālah fī qawāʿid al-salṭanah* of Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb, a work of heresiography that contains the earliest known account of the emergence of the Qalandars, was written in 683/1284–85 for a local audience in Kastamonu, which suggests general familiarity with the Qalandars in that area.

As in Iran, there is little sign of Qalandar and Ḥaydarī presence in the peninsula during the eighth–ninth/fourteenth–fifteenth centuries. It is quite clear, however, that the path of deviant renunciation left its imprint on the development of Sufi modes of piety in the Turkish cultural sphere. The key players in this process all felt the attraction of dervish piety, and many completely succumbed to its pull. Some prominent representatives of this latter option were Baraḳ Baba, Ḳayġusuz Abdāl, and Sulṭān Şücāʿ.

Baraḳ Baba was a native of Tokat in central Anatolia. His father was a military commander and his paternal uncle a famous clerk. He became a devoted disciple of the warrior saint Sarı Şaltuḳ, who gave him the name Baraḳ, "hairy dog," when the disciple eagerly swallowed a morsel Sarı Şaltuḳ had expectorated.[54] Toward the end of the seventh/thirteenth century, Baraḳ Baba traveled to Iran, where he gained the trust of the Ilkhānid Ghāzān Khān and of his successor, Muḥammad Khudābandah Öljeytü. In 706/1306 he and his dervishes traveled to Syria and Egypt, apparently on some mission on behalf of Öljeytü. After a colorful entry into Damascus, Baraḳ Baba moved to Jerusalem but failed to enter Egypt. On his return to Iran, he was killed on an expedition to Gīlān in 707/1307–8. His bones were carried to Sulṭānīyah, where a hospice was constructed for his followers by the Mongol ruler. When the Mevlevī master Ulu ʿĀrif Çelebi visited the hospice in 716/1316, a certain Ḥayrān Emīrci was the master of the Baraḳī dervishes.[55]

Baraḳ Baba was an ecstatic figure, with a most peculiar appearance.[56] He had a predilection for dancing, singing, and uttering enigmatic sayings. Some of his ecstatic expressions are preserved in a learned Persian commentary written by a certain Quṭb al-ʿAlavī in 756/1355.[57] While these utterances are practically opaque for present-day readers, the mere existence of al-ʿAlavī's ingenious and sophisticated work suggests that Baraḳ Baba's influence on posterity was not inconsiderable. Also significant in this connection is the chain of initiation that runs from Baraḳ Baba through Ṭaptuḳ Emre to the famous Turkish Sufi poet Yūnus Emre (possibly d. 720/1320–21).[58]

Ḳayġusuz Abdāl lived in the second half of the eighth/fourteenth and the first quarter of the following century. He was a disciple of Abdāl Mūsā, himself a rather merry figure with a clear liking for food, who carried a club and addressed his dervishes as Abdāls. Abdāl Mūsā's followers donned animal hides, were equipped with dervish bowls, and practiced blood-shedding during Muḥarram.[59] Ḳayġusuz Abdāl himself normally wore a felt cloak without sleeves or collar (kepenek), practiced the fourfold shave (*chahār ẓarb*), and carried a horn. He consumed hashish freely and, like his master, had a predilection for food.[60] His writings are colorful elaborations upon a twofold central theme: each human individual forms a microcosmos and, conversely, the cosmos is the meganthropos.[61]

Sulṭān Şücāʿ was a contemporary of Ḳayġusuz Abdāl. Already a master Abdāl during the reign of the Ottoman Bāyezīd I (r. 791–805/1389–1403), he continued to be active throughout the first half of the ninth/fifteenth century and had dealings with celebrated Sufis such as Ḥācī Bayram (d. 833/1429–30) and Ümmī Kemāl as well as the Ḥurūfī poet Nesīmī (d. ca. 820/1417–18). He reportedly met Temür (Tamerlane) during the latter's Anatolian campaign (804–5/1402) and refused to accept any gifts from him.[62] Sulṭān Şücāʿ shaved his hair, eyebrows, eyelashes, and beard, wore no garments, and traveled in the company of two to three hundred Abdāls in the summertime, while he spent the winters in a cave. He apparently caught the eye of the Ottoman Murād II (r. 824–55/1421–51), who is known to have built a mosque in Şücāʿ's name in Edirne.[63]

The movements of deviant renunciation that crystallized around the figures of Baraḳ Baba, Ḳayġusuz Abdāl, and Sulṭān Şücāʿ formed the basic stock from which the more readily identifiable and distinct Abdāls of Rūm at the turn of the sixteenth century came into being under the formative influence of their master, Otman Baba.

CHAPTER SIX

Dervish Groups in the Ottoman Empire 1450–1550

The general survey of the spread and proliferation of movements of socially deviant renunciation in the Arab Middle East, Iran, India, and Asia Minor presented in the preceding chapter makes it possible to narrow the field of investigation by concentrating on dervish groups active in a specific cultural zone during a more limited period. The Ottoman cultural sphere of the late ninth/fifteenth and early tenth/sixteenth centuries is well suited for this purpose. An exceptionally high number of dervish groups were in operation in Asia Minor and the Balkans during this time. Apart from the ubiquitous Qalandars and Ḥaydarīs, more specifically Ottoman bands such as the Abdāls of Rūm, Bektāşīs, Jāmīs, and Shams-i Tabrīzīs roamed the empire. More significantly, these groups are clearly, though not always extensively, documented in the sources. Consequently, it is possible to construct a panoramic view of the movements of deviant renunciation in Ottoman Southeast Europe and Anatolia during the "classical age" of this colossal empire.[1]

QALANDARS

The earliest genuinely descriptive account of the Qalandars in the Ottoman empire was supplied by the Cantacuzene Theodoros Spandounes (Spandugino in Italian), the first European to describe the dervish groups in the Ottoman Empire. In his Turkish history composed between 1510 and 1519, there is the following passage on

Qalandars, whom Spandugino called the "torlacchi" (*torlaḳ*, "beardless, handsome youth"):

> the torlacchi . . . are of the greatest numbers. The founder [of this religion] was one who confessed that Jesus Christ was divine in nature and was burned alive. The torlacchi are naked and wear the hide of either sheep or some other [animal] on their shoulders. In addition, the great majority of them wear felt [cloaks] without any kind of garment and are thus afflicted with horrible colds in excessively cold weather. For this reason, they cauterize their temples. They shave their beards and moustaches and are men of a most evil nature. They are not to be found in convents like monks, but are thieves, rascals, and assassins. . . . They carry on their heads a felt cap that has wings and they demand alms with great importunity from Christians, Jews, and Turks. Each of them carries a mirror with a long handle that he holds toward all people and says, "Look in and consider how before long you will be different from what you are now; so become modest and pious, think the better of [your] soul." Having spoken in this manner, he gives [the listener] an apple or an orange, which obliges one to give him one asper as alms in return. They ride donkeys during the day while they beg in the name of God, and at night they couple with these [same donkeys] like women.[2]

Menavino (the first Italian print of his work dates back to 1548) also referred to Qalandars as *torlaḳs*. He confirmed Spandugino's description of the dervishes' appearance and repeated the accusation of reprehensible sexual practices. In addition, he noted that the Qalandars appealed especially to women and claimed that these dervishes devised crafty tricks to extract alms from the populace.[3]

The details found in the descriptions of Spandugino and Menavino are matched on the Ottoman side by an exceptional source from the early tenth/sixteenth century, Vāḥidī's *Menāḳıb-i Ḫvoca-i Cihān ve Netīce-i Cān* (comp. 929/1522). According to Vāḥidī, Qalandars had clean-shaven faces. They were naked except for loose woolen golden or black mantles. They wore conical caps made of hair. Carrying drums, tambourines, and banners, they chanted prayers and sang melodious tunes with joy and fervor. They asserted that they had attained the state of *baqā'* in the world of *fanā'*. In fact, they believed themselves to be the "cream of God's creation": the whole of creation

existed only for their sake. Contentment and complete resignation, they argued, were the chief attributes of a Qalandar, who was thus free from the need to earn a livelihood and lived solely on charity. The Qalandar could come face to face with the Divine Truth without the need of veils or curtains, a fact symbolized by the clean-shaven face. On account of his frequent encounters with the Divine, the Qalandar often found himself inspired to ecstatic dance. Similarly, his unwillingness to settle in one place was the manifestation of his realization, imparted to him through his contact with the Divine, that one should not get attached to this evanescent world. Instead, one should constantly be on the move in search of one's origins, a quest common to all created beings. Vāḥidī designated Hamadān as the place of origin of Qalandars.[4]

The revelatory accounts of Spandugino, Menavino, and Vāḥidī are enriched by supplementary information gathered from Ottoman sources. There was a *zāwiyah* known as Ḳalenderḫāne ("the house of Qalandars") in Istanbul during the reign of Meḥmed II.[5] Several decades later, a tax-register (*taḥrīr*) dated 929/1522–23 records another *ḳalenderḫāne* in Lārende, in the province of Karaman.[6] These reports, when coupled with other less certain notices of *ḳalenderḫānes* in Birgi, Bursa, Erzincan, and Konya, suggest that such hospices were not uncommon.[7] The presence of the Qalandars themselves is noted in Ottoman literary sources. They were definitely present in Istanbul and elsewhere in the empire soon after the conquest of the city, since Mevlānā Eṣrefzāde Muḥyiddīn Meḥmed, a very prominent religious scholar, gave up scholarship in order to join a group of Qalandars; the Mevlānā apparently ended his days traveling around the empire with the group.[8] In a similar vein, an anecdote concerning the Ḫalvetī Şeyḫ Sünbül Efendi (d. 936/1529–30) includes the story of a young man who confesses to having desired to run away with some Qalandars in his search for knowledge and wisdom.[9] The Qalandars were present in Edirne in 949/1542, when they joined the crowds who welcomed Sulṭān Süleymān to the city.[10]

ḤAYDARĪS

As in the case of the Qalandars, Spandugino and Menavino gave detailed descriptions of the Ḥaydarīs. Spandugino described a group of dervishes whom he called Calendieri, though it is clear that he

really had Ḥaydarīs in mind. These dervishes had long beards and long hair. They covered themselves with sacks, coarse felt, or sheepskins. Bearing iron rings on their ears, necks, wrists, and genitals, they were, according to Spandugino, more virtuous and worthy of respect than others of their kind.[11] Menavino, who also called Ḥaydarīs Calenders, supplied greater detail. According to him, the members of this group were for the most part celibates who had their own little churches called *tekkes*. On the doors of these *tekkes* appeared the phrase *caedanormac dilresin cuscuince alchachecciur*, which Menavino translated as "he who wants to enter our religion should live as we do and preserve his chastity."[12] Dressed in short sleeveless coats made of wool and horse-hair and ordinarily with shaven heads, these dervishes wore felt hats like those of Greek priests, around which they hung strings of horse-hair about one hand in length. They wore large iron earrings, collars, and bracelets as well as iron and silver rings of unequal size and weight on their genitals in order to keep themselves from engaging in sexual intercourse. They wandered around reciting poems of "Nerzimi" (Nesīmī), whom they took to be the first hero of their religion. The poems were pleasantly rhymed; in the opinion of Menavino, who claimed to have read some of them, they reflected Christian influences.[13]

More extensive than the accounts of Spandugino and Menavino is Vāḥidī's detailed description.[14] As described by Vāḥidī, the Ḥaydarīs kept their faces clean-shaven, except for moustaches that drooped down like leeches over the chin, only to turn back upward to the ears; the parts of the moustaches above the lips were twisted inward like prawns. Single locks of twisted hair covered their foreheads (the hair was presumably shaven). They wore iron rings around the neck, waist, wrists, ankles, and genitals as well as tin earrings. Iron bells were suspended on their sides. They were clothed in felt cloaks, with twelve-gored conical caps on their heads. Carrying drums of various sizes, tambourines, and banners, they chanted prayers and praises to God.

According to Vāḥidī, the Ḥaydarīs believed that the human face was a mirror that reflected the Prophetic Spirit. The face of a Ḥaydarī in particular, they argued, was like the sun that illuminated the universe and should, therefore, be kept free of dust; hence the shaving of the beard. By contrast, they did not touch the moustache at all, after the example of ʿAlī, who, according to the Ḥaydarīs, never

shaved or trimmed his moustache. Locks of twisted hair symbolized resistance to the animal soul. Similarly, rings in general signified repression of the animal soul. In particular, earrings symbolized ignoring unworthy speech; collars, total subjugation to ʿAlī; girdles, freedom from debasement; bracelets, refraining from touching that which is illicit; and anklets, avoiding sinful paths. Iron bells served to keep the group together and also to convey secret messages to those who were capable of receiving them. Legally prescribed ritual practices were superfluous for the Ḥaydarīs, since they were blessed with God's grace and guaranteed enry to Paradise. Therefore, they threw aside not only religious observances (for they neither prayed nor fasted) but also rules of social conduct: they did not earn their living themselves, traveled constantly, and openly sought the company of young boys.

It is remarkable that the descriptive accounts of Spandugino, Menavino, and Vāḥidī are in almost complete agreement on points of detail. There is some uncertainty only concerning the Ḥaydarī headgear. Could they really have been wearing conical hats with twelve gores just like the nomadic Turkish supporters of the Shīʿī Ṣafavid rulers known as "Red Heads" (*ḳızılbaş*), as Vāḥidī has it? The fact that the crimson caps of the *ḳızılbaş* are said to have been first fashioned for them by Shaykh Ḥaydar (864–93/1460–88) and are therefore known as the "cap of Ḥaydar "(*tāj-i Ḥaydarī*) does not make it any easier to answer this question.[15] Although there is evidence that the Ḥaydarīs used to wear some kind of tall cap even before the time of Shaykh Ḥaydar (see the account of al-Nuʿaymī above in chapter 5), Menavino said that the Ḥaydarīs wore a different headgear altogether. In the absence of more information, one can only speculate that the Ḥaydarīs exchanged their former twelve-gored conical caps for hats of the type depicted by Menavino some time after Vāḥidī composed his work, most likely because they were eager to distance themselves from the *ḳızılbaş*, who were persecuted in the Ottoman Empire.[16]

The descriptions given above are complemented by evidence of a different kind on the presence of Ḥaydarīs in the Ottoman domains during the tenth/sixteenth century. Menavino, as noted, referred to Ḥaydarī hospices; indeed, it is certain that at least three Ḥaydarī hospices existed in the Ottoman Empire in this period. One of these is recorded in the tax-register (*taḥrīr*) of Karaman dated 929/1522–23,

and another in a list of pious foundations of Erzincan dated 937/1530.[17] The other lodge in Istanbul is attested by an imperial edict to the judge of Istanbul dated 992/1584, in which the judge was requested to inspect the Ḥaydarī hospice in order to determine if its inhabitants maintained practices that were in violation of the religious law. From the contents of this document, it appears that the Ḥaydarī *zāwiyah*, reportedly founded for Ḥaydarī dervishes by Meḥmed II, was earlier ordered closed by imperial decree in accordance with the complaints of some citizens who denounced its inhabitants as heretics in contact with Ṣafavid Iran. The dervishes in turn registered a petition in which they dismissed the accusations as fabrications of a few individuals who wanted to take over the *zāwiyah* in order to construct a new building on its site and substantiated their charge with testimonies of the co-inhabitants of their quarter. It was this confusing affair that the sultan asked the judge of Istanbul to investigate in his order of 992/1584.[18]

There are other traces of Ḥaydarī activity in the Ottoman Empire. The dervish who attempted to assassinate Bāyezīd II on the road to Manastır in 897/1492 is described as a Ḥaydarī in the contemporary chronicle of Oruç ibn ʿĀdil.[19] Faḳīrī's *Taʿrīfāt* (comp. 941/1534–35), though less informative in this case than it usually is, does include three verses on the Ḥaydarīs.[20] In addition, at least one passage in the chronicle of Küçük Nişānci (d. 979/1571) no doubt refers to the Ḥaydarīs.[21] More informative and colorful is a passage in the *Meşāʿir-üş-şuʿarā* of ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi (d. 979/1572) contained in the chapter on Ḥayālī Beg. From ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi's description, it is clear that Ḥayālī Beg's master Bābā ʿĀlī Mest was a Ḥaydarī. He wore earrings, a collar around his neck, chains on his body as well as a "dragon-headed" hook under his belt, and a sack (*cavlaḳ*) for clothing.[22] Ḥayālī Bey himself did not remain a Ḥaydarī for very long, though some lesser-known poets seem to have spent their lives as wandering Ḥaydarīs, as suggested by the examples of Ḥaydeī and Meşrebī.[23]

ABDĀLS OF RŪM

Extensive descriptive accounts provided by Vāḥidī, Menavino, and Nicolas de Nicolay leave no doubt that in the Ottoman Empire of the early and mid-tenth/sixteenth century there was a particular group of dervishes distinguished from other similar groups by their

distinctive apparel and paraphernalia (hatchet, club, leather pouch, spoon with ankle-bone), peculiar customs (self-cauterization, tattoos), and special allegiance to the hospice of Seyyid Baṭṭāl Ġāzī in Eskişehir, commonly called Abdāls or Işıḳs.[24]

The physical appearance of the Abdāls as described by Vāḥidī is quite striking.[25] They were completely naked except for a felt garment (*tennūre*), secured with a woolen belt. Their heads and faces were shaven and their feet bare. They carried "Ebū Müslimī" hatchets on one shoulder and "Şücāʿī" clubs on the other.[26] Each Abdāl possessed two leather pouches (*curʿadāns*), presumably attached to the belt, one filled with flint and the other with hashish. They carried large yellow spoons, ankle-bones, and dervish bowls. Their bodies and their temples featured burned spots. A picture of ʿAlī's sword was drawn or his name was written on their chests; also prominent were pictures of snakes on their upper arms. They carried lamps and played tambourines, drums, and horns, at the same time screaming. They were normally intoxicated on hashish (*ḳan ḥayrān*).

According to Vāḥidī, Abdāls maintained that the Prophet Adam was their model for many of their practices. When he was expelled from Paradise, Abdāls explained, Adam was completely naked except for a fig-leaf that he used to cover his private parts and had to survive on "green leaves" only. Similarly, Abdāls wandered around naked except for a *tennūre* symbolizing Adam's fig-leaf and consumed hashish ("green leaves") in considerable quantities. Their nudity was a symbol of "tearing the garment of the body" and the nothingness of this world. Hashish was a means to find respite from the unreal phenomena of time and space and to attain the hidden treasure of reality. Abdāls held that the hair, the beard, and the moustache were contingent things that should be shaven in order to render brilliant the "mirror of the face." They were very fond of food (a long list of dishes is provided). The meals were followed by hashish-taking and musical sessions (*samāʿ*). They normally slept on the ground and were awakened with the sound of a horn, a symbol of the trumpet of the archangel Isrāfīl: thus every morning awakening was likened to resurrection. Abdāls were free from all prescribed religious observances since they were not really in this world at all. Their true guide was ʿAlī and, as indicated by the Ebū Müslimī hatchet, they were the enemies of ʿAlī's enemies. They also highly cherished Ḥasan,

Ḥüseyn, and the twelve *imāms*. Their *ka'be*, however, was the hospice of Seyyid Gāzī, as represented by the distinctive lamps they carried.

Menavino's long account of the Abdāls, reproduced here in its entirety, is equally detailed and informative:

> The Dervisi are men of good humor. They have as clothing sheepskins dried in the sun which they suspend from their shoulders [in such a way as to] cover their private parts, one in the front and one in the back. The rest of their bodies are totally naked and devoid of all bodily hair. They have in their hands clubs, no less big than long, thick and full of nodes. On their heads are white conical hats, one hand in height. Their ears are pierced, where they wear earrings of precious stones and jasper. They live in various places in Turkey where travelers are fed and accommodated. In summertime they do not eat in their dwellings but live on alms that they ask for with the words *sciaimer daneschine* [*şāh-i merdān 'aşkına*], that is, demanding alms for the love of that brave man called 'Alī, the son-in-law of Muḥammad. . . . In Anatolia they have the tomb of another called Scidibattal [Seyyid Baṭṭāl/Seydī Baṭṭāl] who they say was responsible for the greatest part of the conquest of Turkey. There they have a house wherein live more than five hundred of them and where, once a year, they hold in joy and exultation a general meeting that lasts seven days, in which more than eight thousand participate. Their chief is called Assambaba [A'ẓam Baba?], which means the father of fathers. Among them are found many learned youths who wear white garments reaching down to their knees. When they arrive [at the *tekke* of Seydī Baṭṭāl], one of their numbers narrates a story that contains [an account of] miraculous things seen during the course of travels through [different] regions, which they then write down along with the name of the author and present it to the chief. On Fridays, which is their Sunday, they prepare a good meal and eat it on the grass in an open field that is not far from their dwelling. Assambaba . . . sits among them, surrounded by the learned ones dressed in white. After the meal, the chief rises to his feet and the rest do likewise. They say a prayer to God and then all cry out in a loud voice *Alacabu Eilege* [*Allāh ḳabūl eyleye*], that is, may God accept this our prayer. Also among them are certain youths called *cuccegler* [*köçekler*], who carry in certain hand-trays a pulverized herb called

asseral [*esrār*], which, when eaten, makes one merry just as if one had drunk wine. First the chief then all the others in order take this into their hands and eat, and this done, read of the book of the new story. They then move to a place closer to their dwelling where they prepare a great fire of more than one hundred loads of wood. Taking each other's hands, they turn round [the fire], singing praises of their order, in the same way as our peasants are accustomed to by their festivities, men and women in a round dance. When the dance ends, they take out knives and with the sharp point draw pictures of branches, leaves, flowers, and wounded hearts on the arms, breasts, or thighs, just as if they were engraving on wood. They engrave these in the name of those with whom they are enamored. Afterward, they approach the fire and place hot embers on the wounds, which they then cover with old cotton [rags] wetted with urine that they have prepared; the wounds heal by the time the cotton [rags] fall off on their own. In the evening, having received the permission of their chief, they form a squadron, like soldiers in arms, and return to their dwelling with banners and tambourines [in hand], asking for alms on their way. In Constantinople they are not viewed with much tolerance since one of them once attempted to kill the Great Turk with a sword that he carried under [his cloak]. All the same, they give them alms since these latter care for travelers in their own dwelling.[27]

Nicolas de Nicolay, although he largely paraphrased Menavino, also made some additions and alterations. According to him, the Abdāls, whom he called *deruis*, were bare-headed and carried small hatchets instead of clubs under their girdles. Nicolas noted that the herb that they ate was called *matslach* (*maṣlık*) and the wounds that they inflicted upon themselves were cured by means of a certain herb. He mistakenly identified the sultan upon whose life an attempt was made by a dervish as Meḥmed II and, in addition, accused the Abdāls of robbery, sodomy, and other similar vices.[28]

The combined testimony of Vāḥidī and Menavino allows us to identify as Abdāls the "derwissler" described in some detail in the much earlier account of Konstantin Mihailović, who served as a Janissary from 1455 to 1463 C.E.:

[The derwissler] have such a custom among them: they go about naked and barefoot, and they wear only deerskins, or the skins of

some other beasts. Some also have skirts made of felt according to their custom. And they gird themselves with chains in criss-cross fashion. They go about bare-headed. And they sheathe their *instrumentum*, alias penis, in iron. They burn themselves on the arms with fire and cut themselves with razors. In what they walk about, so do they sleep. They do not drink wine, nor do they have any *kvas*. They beg for dinner. And what is left after dinner they give back to distribute to the poor as charity. They do likewise at supper. They never have anything of their own, but walk about the cities like lunatics. . . . And also at vespers they dance, going around [in a circle]. Having placed a hand on each other's shoulder, nodding their heads and hopping with their feet they cry in a great voice, *Lay lacha ylla lach* which means in our language "God by God and God of Gods." So vehemently do they dance and cry out that they are to be heard from afar just as if dogs were barking—one low and the other high. This dance of theirs is called the *samach*, and they hold it to be some sort of sacred thing and great piety. And they whirl about so violently that water flows from them, and they froth at the mouth like mad dogs. They overexert themselves so much that one falls here and another there. Then having recovered from this insane overexertion, each goes to his den.[29]

Evidence on the Ottoman side is by no means restricted to Vāḥidī's *Menāḳıb*. References scattered in the works of such Ottoman writers as ʿĀşıḳpaşazāde (d. after 889/1484), Faḳīrī, Küçük Nişānci, and Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī (d. 1008/1600) suggest that the Abdāls of Rūm were a well-known and distinct dervish type.[30] More significantly, there were quite a few poets in the tenth/sixteenth century who were Abdāls, if only for a certain period of their lives, or at least Abdāls in character (*Abdāl-meşreb*). Ḥasan Rūmī, Seḥer Abdāl, Şīrī, Muḥyiddīn Abdāl and Feyżī Ḥasan Baba, all minor poets who survive only in name with at most a few poems to their credit, were probably Abdāls.[31] ʿAskerī of Edirne, Kelāmī, Yetīmī, Yemīnī, and Şemsī of Seferihisar, better-known poets, were definitely Abdāls. ʿAskerī, for instance, lived as an Abdāl, frequenting the hospice of Seyyid Ġāzī as well as the tomb of the tenth Ithnā ʿAsharī *imām* al-ʿAskarī (d. 254/868 in Sāmarrā')—hence his pen name—until he became the owner of considerable properties through a brief marriage.[32] Kelāmī appears to have been the follower of a certain Ḥüseyn Dede of the Abdāls'

hospice in Karbalā', this being the only evidence for the existence of such a center of Abdāl activity in that place.[33] Yetīmī of Germiyān is expressly said to have lived at the Seyyid Ġāzī hospice itself.[34] Yemīnī, who composed in 925/1519 a long work in verse on the life and miracles of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib entitled "The Book of the Virtues of ʿAlī, the Leader of the Faithful" (*Faẓīletnāme-i emīrü'l-mü'minīn ʿAlī*), was a disciple of the Abdāl master Akyazılı Sulṭān, the preeminent disciple of Otman Baba.[35] Şemsī of Seferihisar, the author of the work entitled "Ten Birds" (*Deh murġ*), which brought him to the notice of Sulṭān Selīm I (r. 918–26/1512–20), also seems to have been an Abdāl and indeed was known as Işık Şemsī. The chapter of the *Deh murġ* devoted to the speech of the vulture (the "Abdāl of the birds" in the poem) contains an accurate description of a typical Abdāl that is in remarkable agreement with the reports of Vāḥidī and Menavino.[36]

Perhaps the most significant poet of all is the famous Ḥayretī (d. 941/1535) of Vardar Yenicesi, who not only referred to the Abdāls of Asia Minor on numerous occasions in his poetry but also described and praised them in separate poems composed for this purpose.[37] Although these poems do not really add to our knowledge of the Abdāls, they do serve to confirm it in many respects, especially since they were composed, for once, by a poet who openly declares his admiration for this much-criticized group of dervishes. Thus, Ḥayretī's testimony establishes beyond doubt that the Abdāls were fervent Twelver Shīʿīs, that they did indeed inflict wounds upon their bodies, and that they were very fond of consuming hashish and wine.[38] They did claim to have completely subdued the animal soul and to have attained the state of "death before death."[39]

On a different note is the testimony of a certain ʿAbdülvehhāb known as Vehhāb-i Ümmī, said to have been a disciple of the Ḫalvetī Yigitçibaşı Aḥmed (d. 910/1504). In two poems which he composed in denunciation of the Abdāls, Vehhāb-i Ümmī provides us with an image that, apart from its negative tone, is very similar to that of Ḥayretī.[40]

More detailed information on the Abdāls of Seyyid Ġāzī Ocaġı itself, however, is to be found in the entry on ʿİşretī (d. 974/1566–67), himself not an Abdāl, in the biographical dictionary of ʿĀşık Çelebi. Upon being appointed the judge of Eskişehir through the influence of his benefactor, Şehzāde Bāyezīd (d. 969/1562), shortly

after the Ottoman campaign to Iran of 960–62/1553–55, ʿİşretī went on an inspection tour to the Seyyid Ġāzī hospice and reported his observations to Sulṭān Süleymān himself.[41] ʿİşretī's report was presumably similar in content to ʿĀşıḳ Çelebi's own description of the Abdāls, colorful as usual:

> The *tekke* of Seydī Ġāzī in the province of Anatolia supported vice and immorality. [It was full of] vagabonds who had broken ties with their parents [and] run-aways who had become Işıḳs in search of a place in a hospice, singing in harmony like musical instruments, with faces that are free from the adornment of belief which is the beard, and their dark destinies [written on their foreheads] concealed by the clean-shaving of their eyebrows. Saying that their prayers had already been performed and their shrouds already sewn and fastened, they only uttered four *tekbīr*s at the times of the five daily prayers and did not take ablutions or await the prayer-call or heed the prayer-leader. They were a few gluttonous asses who survived on the alms-giving of sultans and charity of good people. Hoisting a different flag than that of Sulṭānōñü, they would raid the surrounding areas and would sound the horn of ridicule whenever they saw regiments of military commanders with banners and drumbeat. If the people of villages and cities were to heed the precedents [that the Abdāls set], they would, like Deccāl, follow their backs [that is, do everything in inverse order], would strip the maidens that they run into and would have them dress in their own manner. The student who fell out with his teacher, the provincial cavalry member [*sipāhī*] who broke with his master [*aġa*], and the beardless [youth] who got angry at his father would [all] cry out "Where is the Seyyid Ġāzī hospice?"; go there, take off their clothes, [be put in charge of] boiling cauldrons; and the Işıḳs would make them dance to their tunes, pretending that this is [what is intended by] mystical musical audition [*semāʿ*] and pleasure. For years on end, they remained the enemies of the religion and the religious and the haters of knowledge and the learned. According to their beliefs, they would not be true to the Truth if they did not show hostility to the people of the Law and would not be worthy of becoming a *müfred*[42] if they did not humiliate the judges.[43]

Additional information about the tomb and hospice (*tekke*) of Seyyid Ġāzī itself in the tenth/sixteenth century is provided by

archival documentation and, much later in mid-eleventh/seventeenth century, the travel accounts of Evliyā Çelebi.[44] Significantly, it appears that the *tekke*, in its organization and social-economic activities, was no different from institutions of larger, well-established orders such as the Mevlevīye and Ḫalvetīye. Mosque, hostel, hospice, refectory, and center of pilgrimage in one, the *tekke*, which housed around two hundred servants and dervishes according to a document dated 935/1528–29, apparently never ceased to receive financial support from the central government.[45] The disciplinary measures adopted in various efforts to curb heretic practices never seem to have led to the total disruption of the activities of the *tekke*. Süleymān's response to the above-mentioned report of ʿİşretī, for example, was to order the expulsion of recalcitrant heretics and the foundation of a *madrasah* on *tekke* grounds.[46] All the same, the establishment continued to function, if on a diminished scale, throughout the tenth/sixteenth and the first half of the following century.[47] The most significant development by this latter date, other than the decline of the *tekke* in economic terms, which was most likely connected more with downward trends in the overall agricultural economy than with disciplinary measures of the government against the foundation,[48] was the transformation of the longtime center of Abdāl activity into a Bektāşī center. When Evliyā Çelebi visited the foundation around 1058/1648, he was entertained in a thoroughly Bektāşī institution. In the absence of sufficient evidence, it is not possible to trace the different stages of this curious transformation, which, however, adequately reflects the final fate of the Abdāls: gradual submersion in the growing and stronger network of the officially accepted Bektāşīye.[49]

Although they are difficult to trace, it would appear that the same fate befell other Abdāl centers as well. Other than the *tekke* in Karbalā', mention should be made, in the first instance, of two *tekkes* situated very near to Seyyid Ġāzī: that of ʿUryān Baba in the village of Yazıdere and that of Sulṭān Şücāʿ in the village of Aslanbey. Very little is known about the former, a modest construction consisting of a single room attached to ʿUryān Baba's tomb that appears to have been constructed at around the same time as the *tekkes* of Seyyid Ġāzī and Sulṭān Şücāʿ at the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century.[50] Significantly, the name of the "master of the [present] master" of the Abdāls in Vāḥidī's *Menāḳıb* is given as ʿUryān Baba.[51] The other *tekke* in question was built in 921/1515–16 in the name of Sulṭān Şücāʿ.[52]

Although the activity of Abdāls was concentrated around their main center in Seyyid Ġāzī, it was by no means restricted to midwestern Asia Minor. Indeed, Otman Baba, the patron saint of the group, whose historical personality is reasonably clear, appears to have spent the greater part of his life in the Balkans. His *zāwiyah*, which can be traced back to the time of Süleymān (r. 926–74/1520–66) though probably built earlier, still stands today close to Uzuncaova between Haskovo and Harmanlı in Bulgaria.[53]

Otman Baba had a number of disciples, at least some of whom seem to have followed his advice toward the end of his life that his dervishes should found *tekke*s and begin to lead settled lives. The most famous of such disciples was Aḳyazılı Sulṭān, who, according to the testimony of his own follower Yemīnī (the above-mentioned poet), became the leader of Abdāls in the year 901/1495–96 and still held that post when Yemīnī wrote his *Faẓīletnāme* in 925/1519.[54] The *tekke* of Aḳyazılı Sulṭān, still partially standing today north of Varna in Bulgaria, was evidently an impressive building. In or even before the eleventh/seventeenth century, it became one of the largest Bektāşī centers in the Balkans.[55] Another disciple of Otman Baba was Ḳoyun Baba, who apparently established a *zāwiyah* in Osmancık, Amasya. He is mentioned in the hagiography of Otman Baba as Arıḳ Çobān and is thought to have died in 873/1468–69.[56] It is certain that close scrutiny of the sources will unearth many more members of the group.[57]

Abdāls of Rūm, Qalandars, and Ḥaydarīs were not the only groups of deviant renouncers in Ottoman lands at the turn of the tenth/sixteenth century. There were several others, of which the Jāmī group is the easiest to trace in the sources.

JĀMĪS

The earliest report on Jāmīs is found in the work of Spandugino, who said that the Jāmīs ("Diuami") had the same outward appearance as Ḥaydarīs, except that they did not wear iron rings on their genitals. They asked for alms from anyone and chanted psalms.[58] Compared to this nondescript account, Vāḥidī's description is much more colorful. Jāmīs had very long hair reaching down to the knees, matted and twisted like snakes. Their beards were clean-shaven, while their moustaches were left untouched. They were dressed in felt and wore

earrings of Damascene iron on their right ears, iron rings on their wrists, and belts studded with bells on their waists. They wandered about barefoot. Vāḥidī assures his readers that Jāmīs were very proficient in music. Endowed with very pleasant and moving voices, they chanted prayers and eulogies to God to the accompaniment of tambourines and drums. They also consumed large quantities of wine.

Jāmīs maintained, still following Vāḥidī's testimony, that long, matted hair symbolized the unbroken Jāmī tradition that enabled the dervishes to attain to the presence of (their eponymous leader) Aḥmad of Jām in the hereafter. At the same time, long hair was also a sign of their spiritual descent from ʿAlī. Alternatively, if twisted locks of hair were taken to stand for wicks, the heart for an oil-container, and the body for a lamp, then the heads of the Jāmīs could be said to be afire with flames of love. Indeed, Jāmīs believed that they, especially their faces burning with the fire of love, were the source of light for the whole of creation. For this reason, they argued that the beard, which was like a cloud that stained the sun, should be shaved. The moustache, however, had to be grown, since the people of Paradise wear moustaches. Their earrings reminded Jāmīs not to listen to the words of anyone but ʿAlī. Iron bracelets demonstrated that Jāmīs do not have anything to do with the devil. Iron belts served as the anchor of the ship of existence (that is, the body), while bells were for musical harmony. They were indeed highly skilled in the art of music; their David-like voices were God-given gifts. Finally, Jāmīs had no worries concerning their livelihood, as God provided them their sustenance at all times.[59]

Equally detailed and informative is Menavino's account on Jāmīs, reproduced here in full:

> The religion of Giomailer [Jāmīs] is not far removed from this world. Mostly men of imposing stature, they generally love to travel through different lands like Barbary, Persia, India, and Turkey in order to see and understand the ways of the world. The majority of them are excellent artisans. They can give accounts of [the customs of] all the places that they have traveled to and are able to give answers about everything; they also keep written accounts of their travels. They are for the most part sons of noblemen, not less rich in goods than in nobility and are all

perfectly literate, since they begin their studies at an early age. Their dresses, devoid of stitches and more often brown and purple in color, are worn wrapped around the shoulders. They wear belts of no mean beauty, entirely embroidered in gold and silk, at the ends of which are suspended bells of silver mixed with other metals that give out a very pleasant sound from far and near alike; each of them carries five or six of these bells, not only on their belts but also on their knees. Over their shoulders are hides, of some animal like lion, leopard, tiger, or panther, the legs of which are tied in the front. They have silver earrings on their ears and long hair reaching down onto the shoulders, like our women, and in order to make it longer, they have various tricks, using turpentine and varnish to attach another kind of hair (of which camlet is made) to their own, so that from a distance their hair appears to be of marvelous beauty and length. They spend more time for this than for their own vocation. They generally carry a book in their hands, written in Persian and containing amorous songs and sonnets composed in rhyme according to their custom. They do not wear anything on their heads, and on their feet are shoes made of ropes. When there is a group of them, the bells produce very pleasant sounds that give the listener great pleasure. If by chance they run into a youth in the street, they give him such a beautiful concert, taking him into their midst, that people gather round to listen, and while they sing, one in tenor and others in other voices, one of them sounds a bell in unison, and at the end all of them sound the bells of their girdles and knees altogether. They visit all artisans alike, and these latter give them one asper each. It is they who frequently incite a passionate love for themselves in women and young men. They wander about anywhere they please. The Mohammedans call them "men of the religion of love" and regard them as nonobservants, which is true.[60]

In comparison to the lively accounts of Vāḥidī and Menavino, the latter repeated with few changes by Nicolas de Nicolay, the reports in other sources fade in importance.[61] Cumulatively, however, the relevant evidence is certainly sufficient to demonstrate that the Jāmīs were well known to the Ottoman populace of the first half of the tenth/sixteenth century as a distinct religious group. While the profile of the Jāmī movement during this period is thus clearly established,

its historical origins remain obscure. The life and religious personality of the person whom the Jāmīs claimed as their spiritual leader, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn Abī al-Ḥasan al-Nāmaqī al-Jāmī, known as Zhandah'Pīl (441–536/1049–1141) has been studied in some detail.[62] From his prose works of certain attribution, it appears that Aḥmad of Jām was a devout Sunnī, eager to base Sufism, much like al-Kalābādhī (d. 380/990 or 384/994) and al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072), firmly on the Qur'ān, the *sunnah,* and the *sharī'ah.* A collection of Persian poems that circulates under his name, however, would make him out to be an ecstatic Sufi who harbored almost pantheistic views and is, therefore, of doubtful attribution.[63] Aḥmad had a group of followers during his lifetime, though their fate after the death of the master is obscure. Aḥmad's descendants, however, continued to be revered as eminent religious personalities through the end of the ninth/fifteenth century.[64] It is thus quite difficult to explain when and how the later Jāmī dervishes in the Ottoman Empire have come into existence. One could only speculate that the same tendencies that led to the attribution of highly ecstatic poetry to Aḥmad were also at work in the emergence of a group of distinctly antinomian dervishes who adopted him as their spiritual leader.

SHAMS-I TABRĪZĪS

Vāḥidī, the incomparable observer of the Ottoman dervish scene at the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century, included in his *Menāḳıb* a brief description of the Shams-i Tabrīzīs, a group of dervishes otherwise unattested under this name.[65] The heads and faces of Shams-i Tabrīzīs were clean-shaven. They wore felt caps with flat tops, dressed in black and white felt cloaks, and were barefoot. They would frequently become intoxicated on wine, play drums and tambourines, and dance and chant prayers to God. They claimed to have achieved union with the Beloved and stated that the "sword of attainment" had shaved their hair. Itinerants and mendicants, they believed that they functioned as mirrors in which everyone could see his/her true self. They thus illuminated the world like the sun.

Shams of Tabrīz (d. 645/1247), who was the spiritual mentor of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273), is not known to have started a spiritual path in his own name. He was, however, particularly revered by certain dervishes of the Mevlevīye, the Sufi order that evolved

around Rūmī's exemplary religious activity and took its name from Rūmī's sobriquet "Mawlānā" ("our master"). The Mevlevīye is commonly thought to have been inextricably associated with Ottoman high culture and thus *sharī'ah*-bound, presumably because of the existence of good relations between the Ottoman court and major Mevlevī masters in late Ottoman history. In reality, the order harbored, from its inception, two conflicting modes of spirituality. The first was a socially conformist approach that tried to direct Rūmī's ecstatic piety into legally acceptable channels. The conformists were known collectively as the "arm of Veled" after Rūmī's son, Sulṭān Veled (d. 712/1312), who was rightly seen as the originator of this mode of piety. The second approach, however, took shape around the refusal to exercise any kind of control over ecstatic spiritual experience and was associated with the name of Shams of Tabrīz. The social deviants were therefore known as "the arm of Shams." The Shams-i Tabrīzīs of Vāḥidī were none other than the followers of Shams within the Mevlevīye.

The arm of Shams had been in evidence since the early phases of the Mevlevī order. Ulu 'Ārif Çelebi (d. 720/1320), the grandson of Rūmī and master of the path, openly consumed wine, eschewed social and religious convention, and maintained good relations with socially deviant dervishes, among them the followers of Baraḳ Baba. The overvaluation of uncontrolled ecstasy seems to have peaked during the first half of the tenth/sixteenth century (when Vāḥidī wrote his account of Shams-i Tabrīzīs) around the figures of Yūsuf Sīneçāk (d. 953/1546), Dīvāne Meḥmed Çelebi (died second half of the century), and the latter's disciple Şāhidī (d. 957/1550). These "Shamsians," especially Dīvāne Meḥmed, were notorious for their open violation of and disregard for the *sharī'ah*. They shaved their heads and faces, donned special caps with flat tops, consumed wine, and were generally noted for their flagrant unconventional social behavior. The chasm between them and the socially respectable Mevlevīs must have been quite deep, since Vāḥidī treated them as two distinct groups, including separate descriptions of the Shams-i Tabrīzīs and Mevlevīs, whom he praised for their compliance with the *sharī'ah* and the *sunnah*.[66] The spiritual duality remained a characteristic of the order beyond the tenth/sixteenth century, and the Mevlevīye continued to harbor the "Shamsian" trend until modern times.[67]

BEKTĀŞĪS

The Bektāşīs are well known to students of Ottoman history as a major Sufi order in Ottoman lands. The order took shape during the tenth/sixteenth century and exerted tremendous influence on all levels of Ottoman life during the next two centuries.[68] It is not generally known, however, that at the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century, when Vāḥidī wrote his *Menāḳıb* (completed in 929/1522), the Bektāşīs, far from being a Sufi order, were but one, and not even the largest, of the many distinct groups of socially deviant dervishes operating within Ottoman borders.

Vāḥidī's account on the Bektāşīs is the earliest attestation of this group.[69] According to his description, the heads and faces of Bektāşīs were clean-shaven. They wore twelve-gored conical caps of white felt, two hands wide and two hands high. These caps were split in the front and in the back and ornamented with a button made of "Seyyid Ġāzī stone" (meerschaum?) at the top, with long woolen tassels reaching down to their shoulders. On four sides of the fold of the cap were written (1) "There is no God but God," (2) "Muḥammad is His messenger," (3) "'Alī Mürteżā," and (4) "Ḥasan and Ḥüseyn." The dervishes were dressed in short, simple felt cloaks and tunics. They carried drums and tambourines as well as banners and chanted hymns and prayers. Bektāşīs, as reported by Vāḥidī, kept their faces and heads clean-shaven after the example of Ḥācī Bektāş, their spiritual leader, who, they believed, had lost all the hair on his head and face as a result of forty years of ascetic exercises on top of a tree. They also wore their caps as symbols of their submission to Ḥācī Bektāş. In a similar vein, the writings on the caps were intended as means of glorifying the Prophet, 'Alī, Ḥasan, and Ḥüseyn. The button on the cap stood for the human head, since the Bektāşīs are in reality "beheaded dead people" (*ser-bürīde mürde)*: they had died before death. Indeed, Bektāşīs claimed to be none other than the hidden saints themselves.

Later Bektāşī dervishes of the end of the tenth/sixteenth century and beyond were substantially different in both belief and practice from the Bektāşīs of the early tenth/sixteenth century as described by Vāḥidī.[70] These differences came about through a complicated process. During the tenth/sixteenth century, the Ottoman state, for various reasons, exerted increasing pressure upon socially deviant

dervish groups. As a result, the Qalandars, Ḥaydarīs, Abdāls of Rūm, Jāmīs, and Shams-i Tabrīzīs lost vigor and ceased to exist as independent social collectivities, while the Bektāşī dervish group was transformed into a full-fledged Sufi order that continued to uphold the legacy of deviant renunciation. The reason for the success of the Bektāşīs was their firm connection with the Ottoman military system: the Janissaries, by long-standing tradition, paid allegiance to Ḥācī Bektāş, the patron saint of the Bektāşī group.[71] Armed with this advantage, the Bektāşī allegiance became the privileged ideological discourse of renunciation and was actively adopted during the course of the tenth/sixteenth century by the other dervish groups, with the exception of the "Shamsians" who had a safe refuge in their parent organization, the Mevlevīye. The "classical" Bektāşī order of the later Ottoman periods thus arose as a fusion of the beliefs and practices of the earlier Qalandars, Ḥaydarīs, and Abdāls of Rūm as well as the original Bektāşīs described by Vāḥidī.[72]